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THE NEW RACE-RELATIONS FRONTIER

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In popular thought, the United States, like all Gaul, may be divided into three parts. These are, in the present instance, a North, a South, and a West. In common parlance, "up North," "down South," and "out West" are familiar phrases; whenever a fourth expression "back East" is used it really refers to the North, for every one seems to agree that the South is the South!

These sections have great meaning for that phase of human contacts commonly called race relations. Yet nobody appears to have taken the time to define the boundaries of these areas. If States are to be used as convenient units, since the social data are available in this fashion, it may be fairly accurate to say that the dividing line between the North and South is the Mason and Dixon Line between Pennsylvania and Maryland and, after that, the Ohio River. The South, then, would embrace all of the States in the Union below this line and between the Atlantic Ocean and the westernmost limits of Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas. All States above this line, naturally, would be the North, with Iowa and Minnesota as its westernmost units. The rest of the country is the West.

Allocation of certain of the border States is unavoidably arbitrary and open to debate. The chief criteria—geography, ante-bellum slaveholding, membership in the Confederacy, Jim Crow laws, and a dual school system—do not coincide with each other at every point. Thus, Delaware, classified here as southern, from a different angle may be thought of as northern. For one thing, it sided with the Union against the Confederacy during the Civil War, but so did Kentucky and West Virginia—obviously southern. Furthermore, if the Mason and Dixon Line were to be extended eastward, Delaware would fall *below* it. Moreover, Delaware's school system is racially separate by constitutional provision. The disposition of Oklahoma poses another difficulty: though mainly southern, it does have a western flavor.

The Federal Census Bureau also divides the country into a North, South, and West, but places Missouri in the North. This would never do from a race-relations standpoint, because of that State's legalized system of segregation. The Census Bureau also assigns North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas to the North. We believe that these States are more western than northern.

At any rate, after all of the pros and cons of the historical and sociological descriptions have been weighed, for purposes of race relations, the three sections may be thought of as being composed of blocks of States as listed on page 131.

According to the 1940 census, the seventeen southern States (and the District of Columbia) have a total population of 45,450,565 of which 10,149,005 is Negro and 103,395 "other races"; the sixteen northern States have a total population of 67,933,687, Negro 2,465,823, and 82,788 for its other races; the fifteen western States: total population 18,285,023, Negro 250,690 and other races 402,120. The combined totals for the country are 131,669,275 with 12,865,518 Negro and 588,303 other races.

<i>The South</i>	<i>The North</i>	<i>The West</i>
Delaware	Maine	North Dakota
Maryland	New Hampshire	South Dakota
Virginia	Vermont	Nebraska
West Virginia	Massachusetts	Kansas
Kentucky	Rhode Island	Montana
Tennessee	Connecticut	Idaho
Missouri	New York	Wyoming
North Carolina	New Jersey	Nevada
South Carolina	Pennsylvania	Utah
Georgia	Ohio	Colorado
Florida	Indiana	Arizona
Alabama	Illinois	New Mexico
Mississippi	Michigan	Washington
Arkansas	Wisconsin	Oregon
Louisiana	Minnesota	California
Oklahoma	Iowa	
Texas		

Minorities and Space

A study of the census returns suggests observations which have both theoretical and practical implications. These and other social statistics may be useful in arriving at a more scientific statement of the nature and intensity of race relations in terms of space, motion, and time. That is to say, if this statement of objective conditions is to be qualified by consideration of the sets of attitudes which arise from self- and group-consciousness; for while the concentration and dispersion of populations together with their institutional forms and social ideas have long been objects of sociological generalization, an adequate formulation of these functional relations has not yet appeared.

On the practical side, these data indicate the possibility of an amazingly simple solution of the problem of American minorities. For example, native-born whites (106,795,732) constitute the bulk of the American people (81 per cent). The mass and strength of this

dominant majority surely should have nothing to fear from any of the ethnic minorities. One minority lump, the foreign-born white, in 1940 was less than 9.7 per cent of the population of the country, whereas in 1930 it was 12.7 per cent. This means that with immigration virtually shut off by the quota laws, in a few years the foreign-born minorities problem will cease to exist, for the foreign born themselves will be no longer a numerically significant element of our population.

"Other Races"—mainly American Indians and Orientals—make up less than one half of one per cent of the people and with Negroes (9.7 per cent) would be less than 11 per cent of the total. Why not absorb them?

Fortunately or unfortunately, attitudes and opinions make the solving of problems of human relations much more complicated than statistical computations. The word "absorption" may generate opposition from patriots of both minorities and majorities because the public is accustomed to thinking of absorption only in terms of absorption into the family. Of course, this is the simplest approach to acculturation. But absorption may also be *spatial*. That is, if Negroes, Orientals, and those Indians who choose to leave the reservations were to be spread over the entire country, it is less likely that they would attract so much unfavorable attention. The War Relocation Authority and other agencies have advised persons of Japanese ancestry not to settle in colonies nor to congregate, as before, in two or three western States. Since the days of Richard T. Greener, certain Negro leaders and others have advised Negroes to leave the South in large numbers. However, what actually happens is that southern Negroes who do leave do not scatter themselves, even as family units. Instead, they gravitate to a few selected centers and to particular neighborhoods of those centers. Thus, we have Harlem in New York and the South Side in Chicago, which are much more packed and jammed than any place in the South. This is the opposite of spatial absorption.

Today Harlem as an urban location looms large in the public consciousness. On the other hand, if the near-half-million Negroes there and thereabouts were distributed throughout New York City, this would mean that only one person in every sixteen encountered would be Negro.

In this light, covenants which impose restrictions on residence because of race, as well as all legal and institutional segregation, are to be viewed as impediments to the normal working of the process of human migration which through distribution would go far toward eliminating the problem of the Oriental, Indian, and Negro in American life.

Among helpful signs toward removing these impedimenta are the efforts to outlaw racially restrictive covenants and to encourage the adoption of Japanese-American children by other citizens. Federal agencies, led by the Census Bureau, have long since classified Puerto Ricans as native-born white, though the Negro strain has always been strong in Puerto Rico. Since 1930 persons of Mexican ancestry, also, have been classified as white. Every ethnologist knows that the base of the Mexican population is American Indian and that, during the Colonial period, African immigration (the slave trade) exceeded European immigration slightly. Biological assimilation has been so complete that there are virtually no Negroes in Mexico today.

It is not to be forgotten in all of this discussion of spatial distribution that the concentration and segregation of minorities are not the only forces which make them targets for aggression and discrimination. Stereotype and propaganda are the other prime factors which magnify these minorities, in the public mind, all out of their true proportion.

It goes without saying that the possibilities of spatial absorption and the curbing of antiminority propaganda could be furthered by social planning. But under any circumstance, consideration of proposals in the field of public policy should be based upon the realiza-

tion that the nature of race relations is not the same in all parts of the American nation.

Taking a broad anthropological view of the national culture, we may say that nowhere in the United States are Negroes, for example, accorded full rights and privileges, despite our equalitarian ideology. And yet this nationwide pattern has identifiable subpatterns for each section that may be compared and contrasted. Whereas racial prejudice and discrimination exist in all corners of the land, the diffusion of items which define race relations show sharp sectional variations.¹ Let us, for the moment, return to our three-way division of the country.

South or North

The South, historically, is the home of the Negro in the United States. The bulk of the Negro population has been and is still concentrated there (over four fifths in 1940) and the crises of Secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction arose and in large part had their being in this section. After slavery was abolished, the southern States became the race-relations frontier for the nation in the sense that the settlement of the issue then and there was to determine the relative status of white and black for years to come sectionally, and would greatly influence public opinion in the rest of the country. During the early Reconstruction period a social revolution seemed imminent. A great many ordinary citizens were prepared to accept a new way of life, a way of equality, as a consequence of the Civil War. They expected the Federal Government to enforce the abolition of race distinctions in public life.

It developed, though, that the dominant forces in the Federal Government had no such intention; were primarily interested in the opening up of the South to the expansion of capital and industry. Accordingly, the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were nullified, the Federal civil rights law declared unconstitutional, and

¹ There are, of course, variations within sections and across sectional lines, according to class, urbanization, industrialization, etc.

the Negro pushed down and out of politics. A *system* of race segregation was established by *law*. Thus, the southern frontier of the post-Reconstruction period was lost to equality and democracy. Today the characteristic southern pattern of race relations is and shall be for years to come: segregation.

The North, on the other hand, historically has had few Negroes and did not become a race-relations frontier until World War I. Between the census years of 1910 and 1930 more than a million Negroes left the South for northern cities and factories. This section, for the first time, was now brought face to face with the question of what to do about large numbers of Negroes. There was all manner of competition and conflict, argument and riot, but when the smoke of battle had cleared, the northern frontier had been won to equality and full democracy. This is not to say that all racial discrimination was banished. Far from it. Nevertheless, the North, unlike the South, turned its face toward full rights for all. Today it becomes only a question of time and continued struggle until the ideal will be realized. Jim Crow *laws* are unthinkable. Oppression and terror, which are to be observed in every section, should not obscure the four basic differences which distinguish race relations in the North from the South:

1. The law is on the Negro's side in his fight for equal rights.
2. The Negro is not disfranchised.
3. There is no proslavery, "lost cause," "terrible Reconstruction days" tradition.
4. The general, social, and intellectual environment is comparatively high.

The January 1944 issue of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY contained an analysis of these differentials which pointed out that

These four social forces—the law, the ballot, tradition, and "cultural liberalism"—condition the environment in which race relations take place

in the North. Moreover, these are powerful instruments which the Negro finds useful in his advancement. They make it possible for the "Negro struggle" to take the same form of all of the other classic struggles for democracy in this country. There is opposition—often bitter and terrible. Nevertheless, there remain, always, the direct appeals to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States (including the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments), Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and existing laws. The fight for equality is legal; *i.e.*, it is within the law. The weapons are those used by any other disadvantaged group within the society. The "Negro struggle" is not isolated; it is part of the general ferment. Labor, women, the foreign born, and the Negro—all follow the same basic pattern in their efforts to achieve full status. (Pp. 297-298)

The West

The West,² we know, is the youngest of our sections and as such has escaped most of the historical aspects of the Negro question. It is true that individual Negroes have been conspicuous throughout western history: Estevanico, who may be named as a fellow explorer of parts of the Southwest and the discoverer of the Seven Cities of Cibola (1539); York, member of the Lewis and Clark exploration expedition, who later became prominent in Portland, Oregon; William Gross, pioneer and wealthy land owner of Seattle; and any number of black "Forty Niners," cowboys and either confederates with or fighters against the Indians. As late as 1930, however, the West could count but 201,466 men, women, and children of color.

During the decade ending 1940, the Negro population of the western States increased 25 per cent. The rate of growth for this section was thus faster by far than for the rest of the country. It did show that the Negro had turned his eyes westward but it did not

² A journey through the western States during the summer of 1945 was made possible by a grant from the Viking Fund as part of a field study of racial stereotypes and ideologies. Thanks are due, also, many public officials, organizations and friends who were helpful with contacts and information. Naturally, these institutions and individuals are not responsible for any opinions expressed in this publication.

mean much numerically for an increase of 49,224 was less than the combined accretions of just two southern cities, New Orleans and Memphis, or a single northern metropolis, New York.

Came Pearl Harbor. Defense industry became war industry and the production of men and material for battle shifted to high gear. Four million persons, including 750,000 Negroes, crossed State lines to meet this labor need. This mass movement was mainly toward the coasts and Great Lakes, for there the ships and planes were to be built and the military and naval installations located.

A million persons, including 250,000 Negroes, rushed to the Pacific Coast. This human trek recalled features of the Gold Rush. There was the same feverish home-leaving; the same mad, nonstop dash through the mountain territories. But all could not make it. The weaker ones of body or will (or cash, today) fell by the wayside. This time their bleached bones and skulls, happily, do not mark the routes, as of old. Still, all along both the northern and southern trainways and roadways, towns and cities have become the unintended new homes of thousands who wanted to get to California or when they got there could not stay.

What did a quarter million new Negroes mean to the Pacific Coast? It meant that the Negro population there trebled itself. It meant that the frantic calls by government and industry for workers to build the instruments of war were being answered. It meant, also, that new faces and somewhat strange ways were now to be seen in old accustomed places; and that pushing and crowding would heighten competition for housing, recreation, and, above all, transportation. Definitely, the race-relations frontier had shifted to the West, particularly the West Coast.

To the usual discomforts of life and of war with its partings and longings, killing and dying, loving and hating were now added additional discomforts by the "invasion" of a human "horde" of newcomers whose presence accentuated the shortage of everything except money and liquor.

Negro Influx

Hitler, of course, could be blamed for some things. Hirohito, especially on the West Coast, could be blamed for much more. But scapegoats are notoriously local in character: they must be within reach. The Japanese had been removed, relocated. The Negro was thus the most eligible candidate for this role. Though the Negro in-migrant was a little more than a tenth of the total in-migration, he was by his badge of color most easily identifiable. Upon him, therefore, was deposited the great blame for irritations which often stemmed from personal inadequacies of the complainant or shortcomings of the whole society.

Some of the Negro migrants did little to improve matters. Though they came from all sections of the country, a majority came from the South, and the rural South at that. Their dress, speech, and public behavior betrayed their origins. A conspicuous few of them were loud, overly fond of quantities of liquor, exceedingly informal in their personal appearance, vulgar in their language, and quick with their fists and knives (no razors). Some were unduly subservient, while others were overbelligerent. To the student of acculturation, they were mighty like the European immigrants who used to swarm into New York harbor.

Careful observers testify that the type just described did not fit the overwhelming majority of the Negro newcomers. But the fact is that it did often enough to prove the point to the uninformed or to those who were looking for proof. Antiminority elements could easily exploit incidents and examples of misbehaving in order to make a case. Whatever the Negro did seemed to attract wide attention. It was less easy for the public to realize that the far larger group of white in-migrants caused much more friction and undoubtedly gambled, drank, and cursed more than their fellow in-migrants who happened to be colored.

The reactions of the various groups to the Negro were determined

in part by the total social setting and in part by each group's particular interest and function in the society. Thus, some war industries were so eager for Negroes to come that their agents scoured the South and, for a while, even recruited among southern Negro women. However, there were other war industries that had to be persuaded by the War Manpower Commission and particularly by the Fair Employment Practice Committee to employ and upgrade workers without regard to their color or creed. The Urban League locals not only helped with war industry in this regard but aided service and industrial establishments which either supported war industry or were in great need of workers to replace those lost to war jobs or the armed forces.

The C.I.O. unions, generally speaking, followed their national policy of nondiscrimination; but the A.F. of L. boilermakers and machinists, who dominated ship and aircraft construction and much else, resisted the influx of Negro workers through all of the well-known devices, the most notorious of these being the auxiliary union. This makeshift suborganization permitted the Negro to work temporarily; imposed upon him dues-paying responsibilities but Jim Crowed him into a pseudo union which had none of the voting privileges and few of the employment rights of bona fide labor organizations.

Real-estate dealers and property owners' associations in some instances imported and in others adopted the practice of restrictive residential covenants which sought to bar Negroes from the more desirable neighborhoods. Federal and local housing authorities, with a conspicuous exception at Seattle, likewise, followed a policy of complete or partial segregation. Sometimes these schemes of "integrated segregation" were quite ingenious. Nevertheless, Negroes did very often get their share of the government-built homes.

This catalogue of groups and their attitudes, of course, could be extended. Perhaps enough has been submitted already to document the generalization that a characteristic of this frontier, as of all

frontiers of human relations in the first stages, was the unsettled state of public opinion. Extremist groups, pro and con, were exerting themselves to influence public policy.

In such a fluid situation, with the mass of the people slightly bewildered and undecided, often white southern in-migrants sought to impose their philosophy of race relations upon the West Coast towns and cities. Many of the signs "We Cater to White Trade Only" were traceable to small businesses—usually third-rate restaurants and taverns—which were operated by former residents of the South or which served a southern-bred clientele. These elements quickly united with local nativist, antiminority individuals and groups to channelize public sentiment and exploit public fears and frustrations.

Traditional Views

Two historical forces favored the segregationists. First, the West had not had much contact with Negroes in the flesh but it had learned about the Negro through motion pictures, radio, newspapers, comic strips, fiction magazines, and books. The generally stereotyped picture as presented through these media of education and communication, naturally, left its impress upon the public mind. We may say, therefore, that the West had an attitude toward Negroes before it contained any sizeable numbers of them. These imperfectly realized images gave a predisposition that could easily crystallize under face-to-face contact or continued propaganda.

Secondly, it has been pointed out that the West Coast had never had a Negro problem before. This is not the same as saying that the West had never had a *race* problem. The Indian, Oriental, and Mexican, historically, have enjoyed the keystone position which the Negro is now beginning to occupy. Most of the Indians of the United States live in western States and the same is true for the Oriental and the Mexican. For example, California, alone, has a

sixth of the three million Latin Americans in this country (mostly persons of Mexican ancestry), and, before the war, four fifths of the nation's 127,000 Japanese. Thus, the West, particularly the West Coast, was far from a region of virginal innocence or inexperience in dealing with racial minorities. The Indian had been crushed and swept aside; at first, shamefully exploited; then, more or less left to himself on the reservations to which he was assigned. The removal of the Creek and Seminole Indians from the southeastern part of the United States to the Southwest established this nation's precedent for forcible relocation of minority peoples.

The Chinese and Japanese who had been invited here to fill labor needs—railroad construction, personal and domestic service, and agriculture mostly—were cast aside when their tasks were done. The recurring anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese riots were followed by partial expulsion and segregation and total prohibition of further immigration, which in the case of the Chinese has been slightly relaxed during World War II. Moreover, individuals and groups followed a road to power through anti-Oriental campaigns—especially against the Japanese. These Mongoloid groups were pushed back into Chinatowns and Little Tokyos while labor and political demagogues flourished by manipulating the issue of "the yellow menace."

The story of the involuntary removal of the mass of West Coast Japanese residents under conditions of war hysteria has been told in all of its painful detail by Carey McWilliams and others. The chief point just now is to note the interrelations of this drastic act with all other phases of minority problems and that as the Japanese moved out and the Negroes moved in, the new group faced a tradition and general public mind-set inclined against them. These factors contributed greatly to the growth of anti-Negro sentiment during the first war years.

Positive Action

For these reasons plus inertia the prodemocratic, equalitarian forces were slower in getting started. It took some time for some of the old settlers to realize what was happening to *their* home towns, as they called them. At first, they looked upon the newcomers as intruders. For the moment they had forgotten that war workers—black as well as white—were forging the weapons for national defense (and attack) which were, in a sense, for the protection of the skins of all, including old settlers and their families.⁸ Again, on second thought, the danger of antiminority activities, some of them provocative of violence, converted old settlers to the wisdom of preventive and socially constructive action.

Negro old settlers, in similar fashion, had a change of heart. They, too, at first, spoke with disdain of the "uncouth, black, southern share croppers" who were coming in: "We could always do whatever we wanted to do and go wherever we wanted to go before *they* came," was a constant wail. In time this mood gave way to the realization that for better or worse the fate of both old settlers—"pioneers," as the "new-arrivers" humorously called them—and new settlers was linked; that the long established Negro residents, themselves, had never advanced very high in the power relations of their communities; and that despite all their faults, the new Negroes were determined to take their stand—and if need be, fight it out—on the high ground of equality of opportunity, and equality of treatment.

Social-action organizations, all the way from left to center on this question, were thus able to make up for lost time and mobilize strong public forces. By the end of 1944, civic unity committees dotted the West Coast; membership in the National Association

⁸ Angelo Herndon says that the popular reaction of Californians to latecomers has been: "The state of Arkansas has moved to California, the state of Texas has moved to California and California has gone to hell!" *The Negro Quarterly*, Special Issue, 1944, p. 8.

for the Advancement of Colored People and interracial committees shot up; conferences were called; governors and mayors issued statements and called in advisory committees; certain of the newspapers, city clubs, social-service agencies, and college professors made surveys. By spring of 1945 the tide had turned in favor of what might be called the progressive forces in the West Coast "battle for home front democracy," as they sometimes termed it.

How real or how secure were these advances? Most probably, if the West Coast had had continued full employment and a little more time, the bright promise of permanent victory over racial intolerance could have been realized.

The sudden ending of the war in mid-August swept away this foundation of jobs for every one. Army and Navy contracts were immediately canceled. Federal, State, and local governments were caught short on reconversion plans. Overnight, mass unemployment became a reality. The postwar world everybody had been talking about for so long had come.

Would the West Coast absorb the ex-war workers? Could it? Could the social institutions contain the passions of men now released from the threat of a common enemy abroad; now thrown into fierce competition for less than enough jobs to go around? Would the Negro and returning Japanese become targets for the hate mongers? Would the in-migrants go back "where they came from"? The answer to this last query as given by World War I was not unless there was something for them to go back to—a job or a home. The profiles of Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles as described in succeeding chapters of this publication give a picture of fluctuating attitudes and activities in this postwar period.

Prospects

Notwithstanding all this, it is certain that new equilibriums, sooner or later, will be established.⁴ Positive, direct planning to im-

⁴This discussion is to be understood as being only the sectional part of a national approach to what are truly national problems.

prove race relations and combat prejudice will surely prove helpful. Without question, the enactment of State and municipal fair employment laws and civil rights acts would go a long way. Institutes for community leaders and public officials—especially the local police—are essentials in any real program of public education. The very atmosphere seems to be polluted by so much hearsay, rumor, and misinformation. Much depends upon the *will* of the people.

But more fundamental problems are: *Can* the West Coast absorb this new population and does it realize its future role in world relations? The answers to both of these questions are the same. Social peace, prosperity, and continued growth for this area depend largely upon its industrial development and commercial expansion. Leaders in these States appear to have not yet grasped the simple, basic fact that Washington, Oregon, and California are not only the west coast of the United States but are, also, the eastern rim of a vast Pacific Ocean basin. This is half the world in itself—with Russia, China, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand, Latin America, United States, Canada, and thousands of islands grouped around it. An industrialized United States West Coast could surely play a decisive role in the economic advancement that this Pacific world is bound to make.

Moreover, the western end of our part of the continent looks out across the ocean to diverse peoples with diverse cultures. Will the people of Washington, Oregon, and California (or America, for that matter) learn how to deal with these neighbors? Perhaps the test will be the way this region handles the same problem in miniature within its own borders. Either this will be a land of human democracy or else in letters large enough for the world's passing planes to read should be written the words "Keep Out, For Whites Only."

World War II, after all, may have ended at the right time and in the right way. The bombs which shattered Hiroshima and Naga-

saki frightened the nations who dropped them no less than the nation on which they fell.

There has not been much of a tendency for victors to gloat over vanquished. Even the V-J celebrations were exultations of relief from tension, more than anything else. The common man was indeed more grateful than proud. The real rejoicing was for the promise of loved ones returning and another chance for a durable peace.

The release of atomic energy with all of its frightful as well as wonderful possibilities may be the finally convincing argument that men will surely destroy themselves unless they learn to live together. Because this is now true abroad, it is more immediately true than ever at home.

It is in such a context that this issue of *THE JOURNAL* is to be read. Essentially, it seeks to describe briefly one of the most vivid frontiers of human relations in the United States. This introductory essay has attempted to define the nature of race relations on this frontier. Profiles of the chief cities describe their different type adjustment to the changes. A critical summary ties these threads together. A bibliography furnishes a guide to further study.

This issue of *THE JOURNAL* may be considered as a companion piece to the special issue of January 1944 which was devoted to "The Negro in the North During Wartime." By focusing attention upon social trends and social thinking outside of the much oftener discussed American South, it is to be hoped that research as well as public policy may be planned and executed in terms more consonant with life and the basic orientation of a democratic culture.

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PROFILES: SEATTLE

Robert W. O'Brien

Race relations began in Seattle ninety-five years ago when the first white settlers established an obscure outpost near the Indians on Puget Sound. Today, Seattle is a city of nearly half a million residents with a nonwhite population of less than twenty thousand. In the intervening time the community has experienced two major racial conflicts, and has come through it all with a *reputation* as one of the "best" cities on the Pacific Coast in terms of socioeconomic opportunities for ethnic minorities.

The earliest racial conflict was the result of the invasion of the economic domain of the native Indians by the first white settlers; the second was the anti-Chinese riots of 1886. In the latter case a mob succeeded in driving out practically all of the Chinese residents, numbering some 350 persons, and placing them on outbound passenger vessels. Although the mob was generally credited by local historians as being led by "agitators and criminals from abroad," the anti-Chinese group won the municipal elections five months later.

Seattle is unique in its racial composition in that in each census period from its founding until 1940 the Negro was at no time the dominant non-Caucasian group in the community. In some years the Negro population was less than that of either the Chinese or the Japanese. Unlike other ethnic minorities, the Negroes have shown a slow but constant increase, generally paralleling that of the white population and usually constituted about one per cent of the total population of Seattle. Perhaps as a result of the gradual growth of the Negro community it was possible for a high proportion of the newcomers to find economic opportunity in the larger community. From the first State legislature, to which William Owen Bush, the son of the Negro voyager whose expedition helped to establish America's claim to the Puget Sound territory, was elected until

World War I, the Negroes took an active part in the political life of the Republican party in the State of Washington. It was commonly claimed that until 1930, Seattle had more colored Federal employees than any other city west of the Mississippi River. At any rate, Seattle, in both the pioneering period before 1890, and in the Yukon gold rush days which followed, was considered a "good town" for race relations and employment for Negroes.

The depression of the 1930's hit the Seattle Negro community quite hard, and had it not been for the substitution of Negroes for Chinese and Japanese as cooks and stewards on the steamship lines running to the Orient, there would have been virtually no economic base for the local community.

In 1940 the Negro population of Seattle was 3,789 and that of near-by Bremerton was 77. Five years later the Negro population of Bremerton had increased to 4,617 and that of Seattle was variously estimated at from 10,000 to 18,000. The total population increase for the two communities of Bremerton and Seattle was from 383,436 to 542,000 or an increase of 42 per cent, while that of the Negro population was at least 300 per cent.

War Influx

Although no complete census has been made of the Negro in-migrants to the greater Seattle area, a sample taken by the Urban League at the Delridge Housing Project indicated that the largest influx of workers is from the five southern States which are west of the Mississippi River, namely, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri. A check made by the writer at Bremerton showed that the same States were the most heavily represented by the Negro in-migrants to that community, with an unusually large number coming from Kansas City, Missouri. Other States which have furnished a lesser but substantial number of workers are Illinois, Michigan, Alabama, Tennessee, New York, Pennsylvania,

Delaware, Ohio, Virginia, and the Carolinas. A survey of the entire Negro population made by the Urban League in 1935 showed, in marked contrast to the situation today, that more than one quarter of the Negroes living in Seattle were born in the State of Washington, and that the others had come chiefly from the border States of the South and from the East and Midwest.

A spot map of the distribution of Negro residents in Seattle shows that Negro families live in most of the major sections of the city. In spite of the pattern of wide dispersion of Negro residents generally, there have been four areas of concentration of Negro population and of Negro institutions.

The largest and most important of these areas is the Madison Street district, which is a residential zone centering around a compact business section of three blocks on Madison between 21st and 24th Avenues. This area contains all of the major Negro churches and most of the business and professional leaders of the Negro community own homes in or near this part of the city. Before the influx of in-migrants there were 1,085 Negroes in the Madison Street community.

During the early years of the depression the Madison Street community could be characterized as conservative, bourgeois, and anxious to preserve nonmilitant relations with the white group. Until the loss of transpacific shipping in 1937, the Madison Street community was largely a home-owning group dependent upon the jobs of its government employees and of the well-paid cooks and stewards.

In direct contrast to the Madison community is the Jackson Street area, called by many of the Negroes on Madison by the title of "cross-town." Jackson Street is an area in transition, which surrounds the central business and brightlight area of the city. It is an area of low land values and bad housing. Most of the houses are third class and the sanitation is poor. This area contained, before the evacuation of the Japanese in 1942, 1,168 people, of whom 276

were Negro, 96 white, and the remainder of "other races" consisting mostly of Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese.

Three types of Negroes are found in this area. One is the railroad pullman and postal worker who may "layover" between runs at one of the two Negro hotels in the area. Another is the type of person employed "cross-town" as a bartender, waiter, or entertainer at a night club, or hustler at a brothel, or as a handy man at a gambling establishment. Others settle in this area because of the necessity of low rent or because they wish to be near their places of employment.

An "overflow" area from the Jackson district is the smaller 26th Avenue community to the east. Its characteristics are predominantly those of a disorganized area, but its houses and sanitation are somewhat superior to those of the Jackson community. It represents a community of lower income families. In prewar times, more than 200 Negroes lived in this community alongside people of other races.

The Cherry Street community once had the status of an isolated and exclusive district for Negroes, but with the growth of the Madison Street community and the Jackson area it tended to become a midplace between the two. In some blocks in this community, now wholly interracial, more than seventy-five per cent of the houses were rated as overcrowded before the war. There are approximately 260 Negroes in this "intermediate" community.

Homes and Jobs

In addition to the four concentrated communities, there has been an increase in the dispersion of individual Negro families into various sections of the city such as Ballard, Green Lake, University, Phinney, Magnolia, Rainier Valley, Columbia, Georgetown, Rainier Beach, Madrona, and Youngstown.

With rapid dispersion being limited by "gentlemen's agreements" of real-estate men to restrict the sale of property to Negroes to the four major areas of concentration, the in-migrant workers are faced

with poor prospects for decent housing. In the main they have moved into areas already occupied by Negroes or they have doubled up in the area evacuated by the Japanese. Others have qualified for projects operated by the Seattle Housing Authority and still others have bought farms on the edge of the city.

The policy of the Seattle Housing Authority toward racial minorities is democratic, practical, but somewhat unique in these United States. It is the one public-housing authority on the Pacific Coast which has consistently refused to either set up segregated housing for Negro workers or to place Negro in-migrant workers in racial "islands" of segregation within the existing projects. Negro tenants are integrated not only into the living program, but also into the educational and recreational program of the projects. Negro personnel is employed by the Authority in various capacities on the basis of individual merit. Jim Crow practices are not in evidence in either the project restaurants or in the recreational centers.

By contrast the Bremerton Housing Authority follows a policy of both segregated all-Negro projects, such as Sinclair Heights, and of mixed projects with segregated racial "islands" as exist at View Ridge.

While the national organizations of both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have adopted policies of nondiscrimination in the treatment of individuals because of race, color, or creed, it must be noted that putting these policies into practice is not necessarily automatic. Yet it is upon the democratic attitude and policy of the unions that the economic future of ethnic minorities, particularly that of the Negroes and the Japanese-Americans, in postwar Seattle depends. Unless a system of adequate employment of the Negro workers is devised, the possibilities of racial tensions and ensuing race riots will be heightened.

The crux of the matter centers upon the steps taken by the Aeronautical Mechanics Union, the Sheet Metal Workers Union, the Welders, the International Association of Machinists and the Boiler

Makers Union, as these unions control the jobs at the shipyards and Boeing's through closed-shop contracts. During the war, Negroes were employed on the basis of temporary "work permits," but were effectively barred from union membership by the fiction that the union was also a lodge. In spite of this handicap 1,600 Negroes were employed at Boeing's at the peak period, and at least two thousand more were working in the shipyards of Seattle and near-by Kirkland and Winslow. Many of these workers were upgraded, particularly at Boeing's, which employed skilled Negro in-migrants from Detroit, Birmingham, and Mobile, Alabama.

At a recent post-V-J Day meeting of the Seattle Machinists five of the eight locals voted to accept Negroes as full members of the union. Nevertheless, the Seattle American Federation of Labor is divided on the matter of policy toward ethnic minorities in spite of the active support of the building service, laundry workers, ship scalers, painters, carpenters, blacksmiths, independent woodworkers, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The showdown will come soon when the shop stewards will have an opportunity fairly to enforce shop seniority or to disregard it in the case of Negro workers. At present writing, no discrimination on this point has been reported to either the Seattle Urban League or to the Mayor's Civic Unity Committee.

While the majority of the Negro workers in Seattle are employed in airplane, shipbuilding, or steel industries, many new gains have been registered in other lines of work. An estimated three thousand Negroes are now employed by the government at the Port of Embarkation, Quartermaster Depot, and the Navy Pier, or through Marine, Cooks, and Stewards Union or in nonwar private employment with the telephone company, in restaurants, hospitals, laundries, or at golf clubs. A number of postal employees from the South have transferred here as vacancies have occurred in the Seattle area.

The Seattle Police Department has added one Negro to the force, bringing the total number of regular Negro policemen to three.

There is one Negro deputy sheriff and one deputy prosecuting attorney. Another gain has been the employment of a well-trained Negro in the City Civil Service Department. Another advance has been the appointment of two well-qualified Negroes in the State Department of Health. Likewise the actual employment of two Seattle Transit System bus drivers suggests an area for further employment.

The record of city, State, and Federal agencies in the employment of Negroes has followed the traditional Seattle policy, although there is a justifiable feeling on the part of some Negroes that a "secret quota system" based on the 1940 census (when the Negroes comprised only one per cent of the total population) was being followed by some civil service employees. The over-all picture of employment in Seattle calls for concerted action by the Civic Unity Committee and the Urban League to utilize the full potential Negro labor supply by upgrading of qualified workers and the employment of trained white collar and salespersons in private employment.

Civil Liberties and Recreation

There appears to be no established policy among the cafés and restaurants in Seattle regarding service to Negroes. Almost without exception, Negroes are served meals in hotels and eating places. At the same time, discourteous treatment to Negroes has been reported from these same places of business. Returning Japanese have been refused service at both eating places, drugstores, and five and ten cent stores. In Bremerton, a city of 75,000, all restaurants are closed to Negroes with the exception of the Y.M.C.A., a Filipino Club, a Chinese café, and two working class eating houses. Signs proclaiming a policy of "We Cater to White Only" are found commonly in Bremerton places of business.

Downtown Seattle hotels generally refused to accept Negroes

as guests, although exceptions are sometimes made for Negro celebrities.

The park and playfield facilities of Seattle are available for the use of all residents without discrimination as to race, color, or creed. Three or four years ago an attempt was made to "discourage" Negro participation in the West Seattle swimming pool, but the matter was settled on a nondiscriminatory basis. Ice and roller skating is open to residents without segregation. An attempt to prevent interracial dancing in one of the major public dance halls was halted when the Negro "name-band" refused to play for a segregated affair.

In the face of strong opposition from the Negro community and from many members of the white community, a segregated U.S.O. for Negro servicemen was opened in Seattle. Nevertheless, a number of white girls have served as hostesses to assist the small number of Negro girls in the community and to express their opposition to the policy of segregation. Many white servicemen likewise have attended dances and parties at the Madison U.S.O. In Bremerton, in spite of determined opposition to segregation on the part of a number of white civic and business leaders, a more rigid policy of segregation was followed.

Although most of the social agencies in Seattle have a definite policy of including ethnic minorities in their activities, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have gone further in their integration than any other agency. The Y.W.C.A. has had minority group representation on both its board and on its paid staff. Its special Committee on Integration has recommended to the Board of Directors that the Phyllis Wheatley branch staff be made interracial and that a trained Negro staff member be added to the Chinese and white workers at the Central Y.W.C.A.

The Y.M.C.A. has moved steadily toward integration during the war years. Negro youths have participated fully in athletic pro-

grams, summer camps, boys' clubs, and intercommunity activities. Expansion of the East Madison Y.M.C.A. into the public schools has resulted in at least one "Y" club under Negro leadership, with a majority of Caucasian members. At the August 1945 meeting of the Madison Y.M.C.A. Board of Management, it was voted to make the program entirely one of a geographic community, rather than an ethnic area. To accomplish this goal a white staff member is to be added this fall and the non-Negro membership of the Board is to be increased from one to a more representative number.

Public and parochial school facilities in Seattle are open to all pupils without regard to racial background. Special attention is being given in the public schools to the implications of the inter-cultural movement and to that end textbooks are being re-examined with a view to the elimination of prejudiced materials against any ethnic or religious group. In spite of this forward-looking move, no Negro teachers, with the exception of those in the nursery-school program, have been employed by the Seattle public schools. The University of Washington has employed a number of Chinese and Japanese-Americans in instructorial capacities and, at the present time, has one Negro teacher on the nursery education staff.

Betterment Activities

Seattle has a number of agencies or organizations with programs having to do with improving race relations. The foremost of these is the Mayor's Civic Unity Committee, which wields wide influence in eliminating causes of unrest, in opening up job opportunities, in developing sound practices on the part of the metropolitan press, and in giving unofficial guidance to other organizations in the field. The strength of the Committee lies both in its make up of leaders in the fields of labor, industry, civic affairs, and minority groups, and in its semiofficial status as the Mayor's Committee.

Another institution which has contributed a new approach to racial progress in the community has been the work parties of the

American Friends' Service Committee. Civilians and servicemen of various racial and religious backgrounds work together in reconditioning homes of the returning Japanese-American evacuees.

The work of the Seattle Urban League has been mentioned earlier in this paper. Its immediate need is for at least two full-time assistants for the secretary, including at least one experienced industrial secretary. Many of the gains made by the Negro group in Seattle are the result of the League program, but the organization was set up to provide service to a population of less than four thousand.

Other organizations making effective efforts to maintain social peace and advance the integration of minorities in the community include: the Race Relations Department of the Seattle Council of Churches, the Labor Council of Minority Rights, the International Students' House, the National Council of Christians and Jews, the China Club, the Christian Friends of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Japanese-American Citizens League, and the Anti-Defamation League.

Seattle has had no race riots nor large-scale conflict, although there have been individual fights across race lines and some verbal abuse. Disruptive organizations like the Ku Klux Klan have not appeared on the scene. However, in near-by rural communities the Remember Pearl Harbor League has met with some success in whipping up feeling against the Americans of Japanese ancestry. Accurate reporting by Seattle newspapers (particularly the *Seattle Times*) of the casualties borne by the local Nisei had done much to dissipate the violent expression of antagonism to the returning evacuees. In its only Seattle appearance, the Remember Pearl Harbor League was out-talked and out-maneuvered by a group of college students and ex-war veterans who were opposed to their philosophy.

No profile of race relations in Seattle is complete without a summary of the current racial composition of the community. In 1940

the Japanese numbered 6,975; today less than 1,400 have returned to Seattle and the prospects for the number to go over two thousand is considered slight. The Negro community, which had less than four thousand persons in 1940, is now the dominant non-Caucasian group in the city. Since V-J Day several hundred Negroes have come to Seattle to join their families and less than twenty a day are reported leaving by train. Present indications point to a permanent Negro community of close to ten thousand individuals, with the possibility that many persons now living in Bremerton, Port Orchard, Kirkland, and other surrounding communities will move into Seattle. The Chinese population has remained stationary at approximately 1,800, the Filipino community has declined to some 1,200, while the number of Indians has increased from the 222 reported in 1940.

Prospects

With the race patterns in Seattle yet to be crystallized, this community may well be one of the important arenas in the struggle between democratic forces and those wishing to establish a form of racial superordination and subordination. The Puget Sound area is close to the pioneer and Yukon days when men asked few questions about their neighbor's racial or social antecedents and when individuals were judged by their own attainments. In opposition to this democratic tradition has been the importation of a caste pattern of human relations from the southern States. Not only southern whites, but often Negroes from the rural areas, too, have brought this pattern of segregation and have been unconscious instruments in setting up separate institutions in this territory. Upon the outcome of the struggle between the exponents of these two philosophies in the growing communities of the Pacific Coast may, in part, rest the direction taken by the United States as a whole.

Postwar prospects for Seattle are difficult to assay. The severity of the industrial cutbacks which this region may experience by the

beginning of 1946 is not yet clear. As indicated earlier in this paper, Negroes appear to be maintaining their jobs as well as other late-comers to the community. The real test will come when the shop stewards protect Negro nonunion members in their seniority rights over more recently employed white union members. There are, however, a number of assets which point the way to an expansion of Seattle's traditional democratic role:

1. The pattern of dispersion of the Negro population into most sections of the city, which was begun in pioneer days and which was made the official policy of the Seattle Housing Authority;
2. The establishment of the Seattle Mayor's Civic Unity Committee with its program of extending the area of democracy in the larger community;
3. The trend of current Negro leadership away from race chauvinism to working on the problem of fuller integration into the total community, as exemplified by both the Y.M.C.A.-Y.W.C.A. and the Seattle Urban League;
4. The growth of a minorities-rights point of view in the local trade-union movement, with support of both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions; and
5. The development of a more active public opinion on behalf of democracy as a result of the returning war veterans and the coordination of groups working in this community for all ethnic and religious minorities.

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PROFILES: PORTLAND

Edwin C. Berry

Portland is a "northern" city with a "southern" exposure; northern geographically but southern in many traditions, attitudes, and approaches to things interracial in character. As late as 1850, extremely few Negroes resided here. The presence of these few brought a wave of special legislation aimed at the exclusion of Negroes and the restriction of their citizenship rights. The history of this area records numerous incidents of reaction against people of color. The Japanese and Chinese, as well as the Negroes, have been the objects of expulsion movements.

Prewar

In 1940, the Negro population of the Portland area¹ was 1,934. One thousand nine hundred and thirty-one lived in Portland and three made their homes in Vancouver, Washington. This small group was law-abiding, self-sustaining, and unobtrusive. Nobody molested them. There was no race problem in the sense that there was danger of violence or that the Negro group represented a threat to the white residents in any way. This, however, does not mean that the Negro population of Portland had been satisfactorily integrated. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were employed in certain jobs, lived in certain places, and were "represented" by a few Negroes acceptable to and chosen by the white population. These representatives were the only links between the Negroes and the total community. There was practically no outlet for the trained and skilled Negro workman. Negroes with training were forced to leave the area or to accept unskilled or service work.

On the other hand, statistics indicate that most Negroes were profitably employed during the great depression. Extremely few

¹ The Portland area, as here used, includes Portland and Vanport, Oregon, and Vancouver, Washington.

Negroes were on the WPA or were recipients of direct relief. The fact remains, however, that Negroes were not integrated into the free flow of the life in Portland. It would be more nearly accurate to say that Negroes accommodated themselves to the position in this community to which they had been assigned.

Migration

Newcomers to the Portland-Vancouver area between April 1940 and May 1944 numbered 222,134. One out of every three residents of Portland today is a newcomer. A few more than 22,000 of these recent arrivals are Negroes. A block of 22,000 Negroes is something new and decidedly different to this section. New things are often resented. The situation in Portland is no exception. Old-time residents have resented the entire in-migrant population. They have particularly resented the Negro in-migrant. His "high visibility" has rendered him easily identifiable, and he has symbolized the intrusion of all newcomers to the old-timer. Nor were the old guard Negroes ready to welcome the newcomers. The more the Negroes came, the tighter the conditions became for all. The old residents were inclined at first to consider the newcomers as scum and to blame them for the less tolerant attitude of the community. Some small part of the prewar Negro population did not take this stand. It is through this group that the more progressive movements have been initiated.

It is interesting to note that the new Negro residents have come from every section of the country except New England and the State of Delaware. The Negro workers, however, have come principally from the following States: Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Louisiana, and Alabama. Most of those who came were, of course, laborers; but it also should be noted that some skilled workmen and some highly trained school teachers, social workers, stenographers, etc., came.

Politics and Housing

Responsible public officials have steadfastly declared publicly that there is no race problem in Portland; that those who insist on a forthright stand regarding Negro-white relations are crackpots or agitators. On the other hand, these same officials have permitted the establishment of elaborate plans for segregation in housing areas, both public and private, and discriminatory practices in hotels, restaurants, and other public accommodations. City officials have not been induced to include treatment of minorities in their police training. There are no Negro police officers in Portland or Vancouver. The sheriff's department has employed a few deputies with definitely limited authority. Prejudicial attitudes have been exhibited by both city and county law officers in numerous cases.

City officials in Portland and Vancouver can afford to disregard the Negro population in their vote counting. Six sevenths of the Negro residents are without a vote in city elections. Why is this? The main answer is to be found in the housing situation. Most Negro in-migrants have been able to find housing only in the war-housing communities. Vanport, the largest war-housing center in the United States, 38,000 persons at its peak, housed 7,000 Negroes. Vancouver presently takes care of an additional 9,000. All of these housing areas are outside the city limits and their residents, accordingly, have no vote.

The Portland Realty Board has made it extremely difficult for the Negro population to grow and settle normally. This Board has adopted a very rigid rule that forbids any of its members to sell or rent to Negro families outside of restricted areas. The area which has been designated as the Negro ghetto is already tremendously overcrowded. The "code of ethics" of the Portland Realty Board states in Part III, Section 34, that:

A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or

nationality, or any individual whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.

The Portland Realty Board, therefore, assumes that any Negro would be clearly detrimental to the neighborhood. *The Nation*, in its August 25 issue, has commented: "It would be difficult to imagine a more elastic use of the word 'ethics'."

This attempt to control housing and to restrict residential areas has not met with one-hundred per cent success. Owners may sell to whomever they wish without fear of sanctions. Many whites are seeking Negro buyers, either because they wish to do good or because they wish to do business, or both.

Qualified observers stated that there would be a tremendous drive for residence by Negroes in the several months following the declaration of peace. These predictions are coming true. The future of war housing is uncertain and entirely unsatisfactory for permanent living. Even now the move from the outlying areas into Portland proper is on.

It has been pointed out to real-estate operators that if they insist on maintaining this discriminatory practice and limiting Negro residents to an overcrowded ghetto, they are actually blueprinting a slum which will bring more devastation, disease, and suffering than this area has ever dreamed possible.

Jobs and Conversion

The chief source of prewar employment for Negroes of Portland was in railroad work and domestic service. Statistics for the period immediately prior to the migration listed some 1,100 jobs held by Negroes in these occupations. Ninety-six per cent of the in-migrant Negro workers were directed into shipbuilding and repair. This shows conclusively that the Negro worker is no closer to integration in Portland's industrial life than before the war. Since shipbuilding on a large scale was war born, it is suffering a violent postwar death. It has nothing to which it might convert. This will throw a dis-

proportionate number of Negroes out of work at the most inopportune time when job competition is keenest.

Postwar employment opportunities are dismal in the Portland area for all workers. Particularly are they dark for the Negro. It is estimated that a minimum of 1,000 new jobs must be found for the family heads of those who elect to remain in this area. It is evident from what has gone before that these jobs will have to be found in industries and occupations which have traditionally not employed Negro workers.

To complicate further the employment picture, and indeed the total community pattern, the in-migrants that show the greatest tendency to remain here are those from the rural South. This is true of both Negro and white in-migrants.

A disproportionate number of Negroes from the South have extremely low educational attainments and almost totally agricultural backgrounds. Moreover, most of the Negro farmers who have concentrated here possess a minimum familiarity with modern farm machinery, as indicated by hundreds interviewed in a recent Urban League survey. This suggests that the total industrial orientation of these workers has been gleaned from their experience in a single skill or partial skill acquired hurriedly for participation in mass production of ships. The single skill is in most cases entirely too superficial to give a worker background to claim journeyman status in peacetime occupation.

Northern in-migrants show tendencies related to their place of origin.

No reference to race relations on the West Coast would be complete without some comment on the boilermakers' union (International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers of America), which has had a strangle hold on the shipbuilding industry. In Portland, as elsewhere, auxiliary unions were formed for Negro workers. The auxiliaries were nothing more than a method of exacting tribute from Negroes for the right to work.

Negroes paid union dues, but had no union status, could not vote, were required to voice complaints through a white and unfriendly steward, and received only partial benefits at death. The influence of the Boilermakers is widespread and its methods of adjustment racially have been adopted or attempted by civic and social groups. Indeed, one Portland Parent Teachers Association recommended a nonvoting auxiliary for Negro parents. This was not permitted, but indicates the extent to which "boilermakers' thinking" has permeated the community.

Fights over the organization of the auxiliary have caused a sharp split in the community among those professing to be interested in the welfare and progress of Negro workers. One group felt it better to organize the auxiliary and put Negroes to work at any cost. The other group said "we will never accept it; it is the most vicious and devastating kind of segregation." The auxiliaries did operate, but these two groups have never been reconciled. The scars of battle are still evident. So again, the boilermakers exerted influence outside their own ranks by dividing the friends of Negroes and, indeed, the Negroes themselves.

The Boilermakers will probably become a relatively insignificant, impotent organization in Portland when present shipbuilding contracts are completed, but the specter of the auxiliary will haunt the town for a long time to come.

Tensions

The Portland-Vancouver area is "mined"; it is highly explosive. The more rapidly layoffs come, the nearer it is to the sounding off of the "detonator." By early September there have been only 1,800 involuntary terminations of employment in the major industries of this area. A large number of these were women and school children. Negro layoffs have not been perceptibly disproportionate.

Unemployed southern whites prodded by reactionary groups, Negroes seething with anger from restrictions and denials of rights,

irresponsible spokesmen from both groups, silence and inertia from City Hall, plus police brutality—all spell trouble.

Prospects

The Portland-Vancouver area presents a picture of social disorganization. This is particularly true of the Negro community in which the in-migrants outnumber the old residents ten to one. The backgrounds of these two groups contrast sharply.

Racial patterns in this area as yet are not defined clearly, but are in process of formation. Oregon has no Civil Rights Law. A feeble attempt to place a Civil Rights Bill on the statute books was decisively defeated in 1944. An Urban League survey indicates that most social-welfare and educational agencies show a willingness to cooperate but a fear or reluctance to take the lead in working for better race relations.

Absence of an agency to assist intelligently the community in integrating incoming Negroes has resulted in a sort of hit-or-miss procedure.^{*} This has proved particularly harmful in the employment field where thousands of *untrained* Negro workers have been placed in jobs they were not qualified to hold. As a result, employers conclude that *the* Negro is unfit.

There is one bright ray of hope in this area. Several organizations have become interested in race relations in the Portland community. These groups are given leadership by the Portland Council of Churches, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro Citizens and Tax Payers League, the Council of Social Agencies, the Committee of Interracial Principles and Practices, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the Urban League of Portland. Can these organizations mold enough public opinion to force official recognition and constructive

^{*}The Urban League began operation in Portland May 1, 1945.

action in this situation before it is too late? This is our chief hope for the prevention of hostilities.

There is a growing awareness of the need for intelligent interracial planning in this community. A recent survey, "The Negro in Portland," was compiled and published by the City Club.³ It is clear and realistic. This study was endorsed overwhelmingly by its membership in spite of organized opposition.

Two Negro teachers have been appointed to work in the Portland Public Schools, and the Board of Education has been induced to inaugurate an intercultural educational program, beginning with the fall semester, 1945.

The race is on between the reactionary and the liberal forces of the community to capture the imagination of the vast horde of "in-between Portlanders" who have not decided where they stand. The liberal leaders are proceeding on the premise that nothing just "happens" but that everything is "caused." Some of us are working diligently to "cause" a liberal and equitable pattern of living in the Portland area for all. If the reactionaries win, Negroes in Portland will become casualties of World War II.

³ The City Club is a group of 750 business and professional men who are organized for the study of community problems and to make public these findings. The Club has recently accepted two outstanding Negroes as members.

Edwin C. Berry did his undergraduate work at Oberlin College and Duquesne University. He completed his professional education at the University of Pittsburgh, School of Applied Social Sciences, and has recently assumed the post of executive secretary of the newly established Urban League of Portland.

PROFILES: SAN FRANCISCO

Joseph James

The figures of the 1940 census provide the best clue to the status of race relations, Negro-white, in San Francisco prior to World War II. There was a total population of 634,536. Of this, only 4,846 were Negroes. Moreover, Negroes were so widely scattered that the visitor to San Francisco at that time would have easily received the impression that there were almost no Negroes in the city. There was only one point of relatively high concentration of Negro residence—the well-known Fillmore District; but even this was in no sense a Negro area. Here white people were most numerous, with the Japanese ancestry group second with upwards of five thousand. There were, also, small numbers of Filipinos and Chinese. Negroes did not number more than one thousand.

There is a basic quality of American race relations wherein the numbers of a racial minority in the midst of the white population have a direct bearing on the dynamics of social and economic action and counteraction between the racial minority (or minorities) and the majority group. It is not surprising, then, that San Francisco up to 1941 enjoyed the reputation of being without a "race problem" in so far as Negroes and whites were concerned.

This reputation was by no means due to the fact that San Francisco had met the race issue squarely, faced up to it, and settled it. To the contrary, San Francisco was, and still is, the scene of one of the most famous ghettos in the world. This is Chinatown, where fifteen thousand Chinese, in an area of nine square blocks, live in indescribable overcrowding and squalor. Despite the fact that the tuberculosis rate there is three times higher than that for the rest of the city, nothing has been done to wipe this plague spot out of the city either by slum clearance, or by lifting housing restrictions against the Chinese people. To a less severe degree, mainly because their numbers were smaller, the Japanese and Filipinos here faced the same conditions. The "talented tenth" of those peoples received

the usual handshake and an occasional honor; but for the masses, the ghetto.

Negroes, then, because they were insignificant in numbers and, therefore, impossible to imagine as a threat to any one, were comparatively free and secure from the usual Jim Crow treatment. Understandably, these few Negroes, recognizing their apparent good fortune, generally exercised care lest they attract too much attention to themselves.

Civic organizations were practically nonexistent. The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, even in 1943, had only 585 members (at the close of a membership drive) and was extremely conservative. There were five small churches ministering to the spiritual needs of the Negro community. None of these exhibited any appreciable social consciousness. There was one organization that gave annual evidence of its presence in the community by means of a formal ball in which the "elite" of the Negro group participated. Usually a concert that featured white as well as Negro talent preceded the dancing portion of the evening. This was the one Negro organization that had a pronounced interracial aspect. It was an annual "blossom" with a "season" of about four hours' duration.

Negro night clubs and bars catered to the Negro population only incidentally. Most patronage came from whites on slumming tours through what they were wont to term, "Little Harlem."

The average San Francisco Caucasian knew the Negro community through the several dignified and colorfully dressed hotel doormen, his domestic help, his occasional pleasure excursions through "Harlem," or by having been invited to the annual ball. Caucasians as a group were thus oblivious to Negroes as a group. The racial intercourse of pre-World War II San Francisco was on an individual basis. There were Negroes who had more intimate friends among whites than among their own people. This was particularly true of the few professionals in the Negro group at that time.

The lack of group consciousness and organization in the Negro

community prior to the great war influx accounts in some measure for present chaotic conditions. However, it might be recognized that it is in that very individualistic race attitude, characteristic of prewar San Francisco, that the hope of eventual solution to the American race problem lies.

War Brings Change

The statistical profile of San Francisco has undergone some startling changes since 1940. From 4,846 the Negro population has leaped to an estimated 25,000 in 1945. While the over-all increase has been from 634,536 in 1940 to 700,735 in 1944, Negroes are at least five times more numerous than they were in 1940. They came from every section of the country, but the overwhelming majority are from Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana. The occupational pattern has changed as radically as has the number of people, shifting abruptly from a preponderance in service and domestic jobs to shipbuilding, ship repair, and longshoring. Since 1942 Negroes of both sexes have worked as operators and conductors on the city's trolleys and busses. There are five Negro policemen.

The changes in public attitudes have been as interesting as they have been abrupt. As intimated above, the antiminority sentiment was directed almost wholly against the Oriental peoples. After a brief period of bewilderment at the sudden appearance of thousands of articulate Negroes quoting from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, Caucasian San Francisco turned to the machinery already at hand for the subjugation of the Oriental and applied it to the Negro. As an added feature, local real-estate operators imported a special type of restrictive covenant from St. Louis for use against Negroes.

At the beginning of the upward climb in employment, there was determined opposition on the part of management to the employment of Negroes in other than unskilled, menial jobs. This was true

even in the then critically essential ship construction industry. However, soon after the issuance of Presidential Executive Order No. 8802 which brought into being the FEPC, management's barriers were lowered and Negroes entered the skilled industrial arts by the tens of thousands. At the peak of the manpower shortage, alert and qualified Negroes aided by a moderate amount of organized pressure could have secured jobs quite high in the supervisory brackets. However, no Negro to the writer's knowledge rose higher than foreman.

The union picture is much more complicated. No union, at the deepest point in the manpower crisis, kept Negroes from jobs where there were significant numbers of qualified Negroes who could do those jobs. The boilermakers' union, which has jurisdiction in all of the crafts in which most Negroes work, has provided an auxiliary into which Negroes are obliged to go. Other labor groups, like the machinists, do not accept Negroes as members, but allow them to work in the craft on a permit basis. The unions of the stageriggers, shipwrights, pile drivers, electricians, and street railway men (in San Francisco) accept Negroes into full membership. These are all A.F. of L. unions. The C.I.O., in accordance with its well-known policy of nondiscrimination, not only accepts Negroes as members but has paid officials who are Negroes. The C.I.O. in this area is represented by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the ship-scalers, United Office and Professional Workers, United Federal Workers, and, most recently, the Transport Workers' Union.¹

Institutional Jim Crow

The sore spot, from the standpoint of social segregation, is the housing situation. Due to restrictive covenants and the dominance

¹ As a result of seniority disputes and other dissatisfactions, the original Municipal Carmen's Union withdrew from the A. F. of L. and was granted a charter by the C. I. O. Transport Workers. Thus there are both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. transportation unions representing two distinct groups of workers. Negroes are quite numerous in each.

of vested interests in the real-estate business who are opposed to public housing while at the same time throttling private initiative, Negroes are now living under conditions indistinguishable in most respects from the Chinese. The main difference between Chinatown and the spot in the Fillmore area that bears closest resemblance to it is that Chinatown is all Chinese; Fillmore is not all Negro.

The housing shortage is a general one. Hence, with the evacuation of the Japanese in 1942, both white and Negro in-migrants moved into the neighborhood, occupying the vacancies when and where they found them. So desperate was the need for shelter that ten thousand persons are occupying an area where less than five thousand Japanese formerly lived. Fifty-five per cent of these houses were rated as substandard by the San Francisco Board of Health in 1942. The conditions are unwholesome, to say the least.

Restaurants and other places of public service and amusement are generally satisfactory with respect to Negro patronage. However, there is always a small number of cases where service is refused because of color. In these cases the victims have recourse to the Civil Code of California, which is designed to provide redress for such grievances.

Recreation is another acute problem, particularly for the young. Only now are the forces of this mushroom community beginning to organize themselves to grapple with the problems presented by an almost total lack of wholesome recreational facilities for young people. The churches have multiplied in number. Some of them have purchased larger, more fully equipped buildings (three white congregations moved out of the Fillmore area). In these buildings community services of a broad variety are being organized. The one community center capable of offering a reasonably extensive recreational program is also expanding its facilities.

Commercial amusement enterprises are varied in their attitude toward Negro patronage. There are five bowling alleys, six swimming pools, and three skating rinks to which Negroes may go for

recreation. Not all of these are conveniently located. Thus, too many Negroes, mostly youngsters, are attracted to the plethora of juke-box joints and other questionable places which are, unfortunately, all too close at hand. As Dr. Charles S. Johnson says in his excellent work, *The Negro War Worker in San Francisco*, "the [recreation] situation is especially difficult for the adolescent child—old enough to feign maturity, susceptible enough to need expert guidance, but too self-sufficient in his own blundering belief of himself to recognize the pitfalls before him" (p. 50).

In spite of the abundance of what might be thought of as provocative factors, physical conflict in which a member of one race is pitted against a member of another race is infrequent. Those fights that have occurred have been, for the most part, individual matters. Spectators have either refrained from taking sides or have helped separate the contestants. Much credit is due to the San Francisco Police Department for its alertness and demonstrated willingness to do the intelligent thing in situations where there is danger of race conflict. Verbal abuse, a common cause of fights, is at an inconsequential minimum.

Civic Rights Efforts

Antiminority organizations are fortunately few. Those that are readily identified as such are the home owners' protective leagues, improvement clubs, and some real-estate companies. Their anti-minority sentiments are expressed mainly in terms of restrictive covenants and the arguments they advance in support of them. The Native Sons of the Golden West, a semifraternal organization, bears careful scrutiny. The Sons express themselves against Orientals. Their comparative silence regarding Negroes is not to be interpreted as meaning that they regard Negroes as their brothers.

The plain fact of the matter is that people here have been simply too busy with the production and shipping of war materials to become involved in conflict. May this seething mass of variegated colors stay busy now that the war is over!

The San Francisco press has been generally levelheaded on matters involving race relations. This holds true in spite of the fact that there is one daily that occasionally expresses "white supremacy" sentiments in its editorials. This is not done in an inflammatory manner, but it is dangerous, just the same. People will not always be too busy to notice such insinuations. There is reason to think that the radio, locally, has made better use of its educational potentialities in the matter of race relations than has the press.

The Negro press is represented here by the *San Francisco Reporter*, a weekly. It is rapidly growing in influence and its appearance and its general make up are improving. In common with the rest of the Negro press, protest is its main function. It is leftish in viewpoint, which may not be unexpected in a paper that elects to speak for the Negro masses.

Efforts to maintain social peace, advance integration, and to change public opinion concerning racial minorities are centralized in the Council for Civic Unity (of San Francisco). This is an affiliate body composed of more than forty community organizations. It has a paid staff and is supported by grants from two local foundations. It has worked effectively as an educational and opinion-marshalling agency. It has one district committee, significantly located in an area from which has come the strongest antiminority propaganda.

The Mayor's Committee on Civic Unity has done some good work through its frequent hearings. Although it operates almost entirely without publicity, it has been effective in reforming certain functions of the city administration, notably the San Francisco Housing Commission.

So far, the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has carried the burden of protest and representation for the Negro community. It has, also, been extremely active politically. It has been demonstrated that an organization such as the NAACP can best protect the minority interests by

being alert to, and taking an active part in, general community affairs. By being an integral part of the community life on a broad scale, the NAACP eliminates much of the necessity for protest. Besides the NAACP, there are other interracial organizations, mostly political in nature, that are working toward the integration of all peoples into the life of the community. One highly significant religious organization, wholly interracial and destined to have a profound influence on the cultural and moral life of the whole city, is Fellowship Church, co-pastored by Dr. Alfred G. Fisk and Dr. Howard Thurman, who took leave from the chapel of Howard University to assume this work. Another such institution is located across the Bay in South Berkeley.

Internal Criticism

General cohesiveness and "community morale" are now discernible among San Francisco Negroes. In most Negro communities a sign of community solidarity is the "good behavior" or "clean-up" campaign. As yet there have been no such campaigns formally organized, but the Negro churches, the Negro press—local and national—and the Carpe Diem Club of the Booker T. Washington Community Service Center are doing a worth-while job in the general education of the Negro people to their responsibilities as citizens, as well as teaching them their privileges. Conditions, fortunately, are not conducive to concentrated drives for clean backyards and whitewashed fences as in many other cities with large Negro populations. San Francisco, in spite of the ghetto advocates, still does not have an all-Negro neighborhood. Besides the Fillmore, there are three other areas where Negroes are numerous but there are appreciable numbers of other ethnic groups, mostly whites, in each block. Therefore, drives for community morale take the form of a more general, all-inclusive appeal, thus avoiding a separatist tendency.

However, the need for self-criticism is obvious. The Negro, because of his vulnerable position in an environment in which his

enemies as well as his friends are high in number, must be extremely careful of the way he criticizes himself. He is likely to find his self-criticism turned against him. It is in the solution of this difficulty that the all-Negro organizations come into their own. Here the Negro people can criticize themselves with utmost frankness and good effect.

Another function of the all-Negro organization is to create and exert pressure for securing certain reforms. This pressure, transmitted to the interracial groups, has the effect of keeping the Negro members of those groups from becoming too much involved in generalities. What may well become the organization to perform this vital strategic function is a recently organized "Ministers' Committee." This is a part of the NAACP and is composed of some thirty Negro ministers. These with their congregations can become a powerful pressure group that may well be the deciding factor in favor of a Negro population whose voice in civic affairs will be given respectful hearing.

The Negro in San Francisco has little adverse criticism to make of any of the government agencies, either local, State, or national. According to local opinion, the main "evildoer" is FHA, with its policy of sanctioning residential segregation by refusing to guarantee loans for the acquisition of homes by racial minorities when those homes are to be in "predominantly white" neighborhoods. This policy has been brought out into the open and is being attacked from several directions on both the local and national levels. A favorable revision of this practice is likely. As for the armed forces, there is nothing, good or bad, with regard to race relations that is not true of other points in the country where there are still large installations.

Conversion and After

The emerging postwar patterns have their positive and negative aspects. First of all, it has been discovered by the racists that they were unable to deal with the Negro in quite the same way as they

dealt with the Oriental. In the Negro there are several elements that are nonexistent or undeveloped in the Oriental minorities. The Negro is unquestionably a citizen of this country; he is thoroughly American; he can talk, write, and sing America with an eloquence and conviction born of as long a group tradition of Americanism as any other major racial group in the country—including the Caucasian; the Negro is experienced in the fight against racism and has the techniques for defending himself; he is increasingly conscious of his strength and his rightful status as an American, second to none. Hence, the Negro has been able to establish alliances with sections of Caucasian society where the Orientals could not. Thus, antiminority sentiment and action, though by no means neutralized, have at least been disrupted and thrown off balance by the arrival of the Negro in San Francisco.

The local ideology of race relations inclines appreciably more to left of center than may be the average for most other points in the country. In this the principal factor is the overwhelming preponderance of working people combined with the strength of the C.I.O., with what is generally conceded to be its highly intelligent leftism. In addition there is a large group of prominent white persons who are outspokenly liberal on the question of racial equality.

Spearheaded by C.I.O.-P.A.C. in the 1944 elections, a political coalition was formed of black and white, professional and labor, Jewish and Christian, religious and secular groups. The contacts made during the course of that political battle have remained intact to a surprising degree. They have broadened out into groups like the Council for Civic Unity and the San Francisco Federation of Voters' Leagues. The Park Presidio Committee of the Council for Civic Unity, for example, can be traced to that old, purely political coalition that was formed for the primary purpose of re-electing Franklin D. Roosevelt.

It is estimated, on the basis of direct questioning, that eighty to eighty-five per cent of the Negroes now here intend to stay. Most

of the newcomers seized a long-looked-for opportunity to escape from the South when they accepted the proposals of war industry recruiting agents. These are not likely to return to the South except for the purpose of visiting relatives and straightening up business affairs. In fact, in the middle of 1944, pent-up sighs of relief were about to be released in some quarters when a pronounced outward-bound traffic of Negroes was noted. Those sighs were destined to remain pent-up, because the same individuals previously observed leaving were seen returning—with their families.

The outlook for jobs is a gloomy one. The history of California is woven through and through with this pattern of dealing with racial minorities: we need them; we use them; when we are through with them, we banish them. This order of treatment has run its course with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Filipinos. The Negro is in the very last of the "use them" stage of the process. The end of the war which created the need for Negro labor has come.

The Negro will not meet the same fate as his Oriental brother because of reasons already stated; but he will doubtless suffer a disproportionate amount of the unemployment and resultant hardships during the conversion period. Racial tensions moribund for the while will become active. This is always the case in times of economic insecurity.

As though to ensure a maximum of chaos, social, economic, and otherwise, in the postwar period, our California State Legislature succeeded in smothering a bill which would have created a Fair Employment Practice Commission. Now, in addition to the general economic disabilities for every one, racial, religious, and national minorities may suffer disabilities because of the way they look, worship, and the part of the world from which they or their parents came.

Common Cause

There is one compensating factor in this picture which furnishes a basis for optimism, in spite of the rather negative color of things.

This time, we hope, America realizes that she must make good her boast that she is the richest and most democratic nation on earth. She does not dare, again, to have one third of her people "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed," with one tenth despised, disfranchised, and scorned. There is a wave of democracy sweeping over the world. There is a determination to use technology for the benefit of every man—not just some men. America must conform to this irresistible trend in world philosophy. She is very nearly the last stronghold of reaction and bigotry. Her change must be in the direction of full, unconditional democracy for all people. There is no other direction for her.

Negroes and other minority groups in San Francisco are making an increasingly great contribution to the general democratic upsurge. The Oriental minorities and Negroes did not have much respect for each other before the War. The Negro group was small and inert; the Chinese were buried in their ghetto, silently nursing their grievances, carefully storing them for some awful day of reckoning in the distant future; the Japanese were industriously going about their tasks in their part of town, treating every one courteously but trusting nobody; the Filipinos, always small in number (only 60,000 in the whole country), were in a constant state of demoralization because of their anomalous status from the standpoint of citizenship and civil rights. There was virtually no intercommunication between these groups.

With the war, the formation of the United Nations, the recognition of China as a full and equal ally, the splendid record of the Filipino regulars and guerillas in the war against Japan, and the coming of articulate and militant Negroes, there has been a visible stiffening of morale in all these minority groups. The Japanese ancestry group is now returning from the relocation centers. They have been through heartbreaking experiences, but their eyes are now open. The unrivaled records of the all-Nisei (American-born Japanese) 442 Combat Team and 100th Regiment in Italy and Ger-

many have increased their determination that democracy shall be theirs.

The three leading minority group organizations are drawing steadily closer together. The JACL (Japanese American Citizens' League) and the NAACP are working together openly and effectively. It is of profound significance that the JACL's membership is now open to all racial groups and that a Negro is a member of their local advisory board. The Chinese American Citizens' Alliance is slower to come into open collaboration in this new alignment of forces, but it is showing increasing awareness of the need for cooperative effort with other racial groups.

This, then, is the way race relations shape up in San Francisco. Some parts of the profile are sharp and jagged; others softly rounded; still others recede, so that it is necessary to shift constantly one's point of view in order to notice changes in contour. Shaping this profile are positive and negative forces sometimes so evenly matched that it is difficult to determine which will dominate. Yet there is unfailing evidence

... that here on the western
Horizon a star, once acclaimed, has not set;
And the strength of a hope, and the shape of a vision
Died for and sung for and fought for,
and worked for,
Is living yet.²

² Katherine Garrison Chapin, *Plain-Chant for America*, p. 5.

Joseph James was educated at Claffin College and Boston University. He won a place on the Honor Roll of Race Relations in 1944 for his successful court battle vs. auxiliary Jim Crow unions. He is President of the San Francisco Branch, NAACP.

PROFILES: LOS ANGELES

Charles Bratt

Old-timers in the Sheriff's office will tell you that Los Angeles never had a Negro "problem" until the war. It is largely true—from the right side of the tracks. In fact, Los Angeles just never had any problems. It had a self-assigned job to do and it did it, aided by a beneficent Nature. The job was selling Los Angeles.

Several years ago a visiting editor of *Time* did a neat bit of borrowing from Pirandello when he described Los Angeles as—"Seven Suburbs in Search of a City." The quip, uttered during a newspaper interview, was far more devastatingly accurate than many appearing in the printed pages of the magazine itself.

Space and Flux

With a population one fifth that of New York, in 1940, the City of Los Angeles spreads over an area one and one-half times as great. The distances have made for weariness as well as pathos for thousands of war workers—53 miles being the average round trip to and from work for the city's shipyard crews. The yawning spaces are something else again. Even to the only mildly observant visitor, the spaces bring early and inordinate dismay. The sentient come to realize later that their early uneasiness sprang from a dim intuitive awareness that they were to find the lack of physical cohesion projected onto the cultural, spiritual, and social plane. The city winds in and out, past and around other "cities" like Compton, Glendale, Vernon, and Culver City, and past unexpected bulges of "county," and emerges with a triumphant claim to contiguity however tenuous but demonstrably "unjelled." As its contours are undisciplined so is its character inchoate and while its wartime achievements are unassailable (it boasts an output of war goods equaling more than 9 per cent of the national total) so is its immediate industrial future largely unpredictable.

Six shipyards, only one of which claimed even small-scale existence in 1940, and five airplane plants operating on only a modest production program in the same prewar year, by December 1943 employed over 315,000 and accounted for 58 per cent of the total number in all establishments reporting to the WMC. To supply parts and equipment for these new-born colossi, hundreds of smaller new plants sprang into existence and thousands of small-fry burst the bounds of their prewar premises and spilled over into neighboring or distant garages and store fronts; scores of tiny partnerships employing a handful of men expanded their payrolls into the thousands. "Reconversion," applied literally, would thus blot out entirely countless new producers and shrink countless more to the prewar proportions which enabled the prewar manufacturing group to employ only 26 per cent of the work force. The community faces, therefore, not a common problem of *reconversion* but a gigantic one of *conversion*. In stock-market parlance, prospects may be good for the long pull but meanwhile, in the readjustment months ahead, the infant mortality rate could run distressingly high for the city's production war babies with a resulting unemployment problem of staggering magnitude.

Historically regarded, there are certain ironies in the present critical situation. This city, which in the early 30's startled the nation by posting its police at the borders of California (not less than 275 miles away at the nearest point) to stay the influx of the unwanted jobless, in the first half of the 40's was beating the bushes through the far-flung recruitment efforts of WMC and the field men of the larger war firms, in eastern, central, and southern States, for potential job seekers who could be lured to this booming metropolis. Naturally, applicants were to be "good types," and some companies took the Humm-Wadsworth test right onto the spot to ensure the selection of persons with the "right attitude." But hundreds of thousands of workers "selected" themselves and came under their own steam and among the latter by 1944 were some 75,000 Negroes. Oh yes, some

of the colored migrants were directly recruited, too: one interstate railway, which in 1942 was finding few intrastate takers as it sang its siren song of the joys of track labor at 45 cents per hour, ultimately went into the deep South and sang some more. Distance lent enchantment in the more backward areas and numbers of southern Negroes responded.

The winning of the war brought prosperity and bigness, the fulfillment of the standard American city's dreams and, above all, the dream of Los Angeles. But the prosperity is precarious and severe tests await it; the sudden unplanned bigness has created terrific strains. In fact, the fulfillment of the dream has brought on nightmares for some.

For one thing—and here we interpolate a paragraph indicating some of the dynamic elements in the current flux—the balance of forces between labor and management has been drastically altered. The war has not brought anything like complete union organization, but both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have made great strides.

What Jobs?

The strains created by the war derive chiefly from the fact that people have flocked into this area in the last five years by the tens of thousands but that very few hundreds show signs of leaving.

The strains increased throughout the entire war period in the form of an appalling housing shortage and fearful transportation overload. To the postwar heritage of these has now been added almost inevitable extensive unemployment. Dr. Philip Neff, Research Economist of the Haynes Foundation, predicted in May 1935 that "there is likely to be a rather painful period of three to five years in which between 200,000 and 400,000 people are unemployed." Dr. Neff also foresaw the possibility that "the immediate shifting of workers from one job to another in the Los Angeles area is likely to reach a half million workers ($\frac{1}{3}$ of our entire labor force) and,

though much of this displacement will be temporary, it will unquestionably lead to individual hardship."

The gloomy over-all forecast is naturally of maximum importance to the Negro worker. While the special United States Census in April 1944 arrived at a figure of 134,000 for the number of Negroes in the county, estimates of their increased numbers have risen steadily until now responsible local officials "will settle for 200,000." War Manpower Commission employment figures, because of the nature of their coverage, never accounted for more than 27,000 "non-whites" employed by "reporting" establishments—which was roughly 6 per cent of the covered payrolls. The extreme vulnerability of the Negro's wartime employment is indicated, however, as follows: In July of this year, shipbuilding was employing 40 per cent of the Negroes appearing on WMC reports (which was 11.2 per cent of total shipyard payrolls); aircraft was employing 22 per cent (3.0 per cent of aircraft payrolls); and rubber, iron and steel, and nonferrous metals together employed 18 per cent (an average of 11.8 per cent of these combined payrolls). There were, therefore, 80 per cent employed in those industries most severely affected by the ending of the war. Meanwhile, there are no known figures to show the distribution of the very large remainder of Negro workers in the labor force, but no possibility exists of their having become sufficiently integrated in stable civilian employment to prevent widespread Negro joblessness if Dr. Neff's predictions prove true.

Of considerable significance in analyzing job prospects is the fact that the vast majority of Negro men and women who found places in wartime industry acquired only partial skills because of the mass production methods used throughout. In so far as postwar job opportunities call for all-round knowledge of various crafts, the Negro worker shares the disadvantage of thousands of white workers who were wartime newcomers to the industrial field and were able to make a maximum contribution to production only because of the dilution of skills. Only supplemental training can remedy this situa-

tion but an apparent discriminatory trend in hiring practices will tend to discourage many Negro workers possessed of the diluted skills from embarking on extensive training unless they can be assured they are not already suffering two strikes against them in a highly competitive job market.

What Housing?

If the Negro's job future looks uncertain, then his housing future looks worse, based on his wartime experience. The county housing shortage is estimated at upwards of 100,000 family units. Five thousand validated applications are on file with the City Housing Authority alone (a significant number, considering the criteria for eligibility), 29 per cent of them from Negro families, 18 per cent from "other" racial groups, and the average waiting time before occupancy has been nine months. The end of the war has brought no relaxation in the demand for housing. On the contrary, all signs point to a continued in-migration, particularly of veterans and service connected families—including additional minority veterans and families—which is not only canceling out the small outflow, but bids fair to worsen the already unbearable conditions.

Within this housing-shortage framework, Negro families have suffered more than any other group. Statistically, the estimates have it that there has been a 28.5 per cent overflow of Negro families above the number of dwellings available to them as against a 7.8 per cent overflow for families other than Negro. In absolute numbers this means that some 13,700 Negro families have gotten by somehow, through doubling up, tripling up, or by leading a miserable existence in abandoned store fronts or other places never meant for human habitation.

Conflict and Cooperation

Attendant factors surrounding the basic problems of jobs and housing are the co-related problems of the large Mexican population (numbering 235,000 to 250,000), nearly as much victims of sec-

ond-class citizenship as the Negro; the Japanese now being returned from the Relocation Centers; the Jim Crow prejudices of the newly arrived thousands of white southerners, often no more "assimilated" than their in-migrant colored brothers; the fostering of race hatreds by fascist leaders, and what might be described as the California pattern or tradition as regards minorities.

"Riots" and Present Tensions

The so-called "zoot-suit" riots in 1943, on the one hand, involved only a small number of Negro youths as compared with Mexican youths and, on the other, was much more of a serviceman's fracas—chiefly sailors—than a civilian affair. It is the considered opinion of most thinking persons who made any attempt to penetrate the newspaper barrage that the outbreaks were not really symptomatic of seriously heightened racial tensions at that time but were the result of police and military laxness in permitting the prankishly lawless spirit of the American sailor to seize upon and make capital of minor barroom brawls.

The San Francisco "peace riots" in mid-August of this year which generated out of hilarity and exuberance should give one pause at the possible results if hunger and hatred were the inciting forces. For several days in June of 1943 the newspapers had whipped up a factitious community hysteria and abetted a mob spirit, which could have had far more serious consequences had not a belated halt been called through a citizen's committee demanding that the Governor of the State take action.

Since 1943 there is reason to believe that far more serious antagonisms have been built up. There have been recently a number of "equal rights" incidents in restaurants "reserving" the right to refuse service. There are constant little incidents on city streetcars and busses and on the suburban lines growing out of who is going to sit beside whom or out of alleged jostling and petty irritations. The police and the leaders of Negro communities are mindful of such

signs and are watching developments with some apprehension. These trivial incidents are regarded as nothing in themselves, except that they have been increasing even during the period when jobs have held up. Now the fear is beginning to be felt that with war-time morale and incentive slipping, with irritation inevitable from any contact with the hopelessly overloaded transportation system, with nerves on edge for many thousands of all races because of overcrowding in substandard living quarters, with many family incomes drastically reduced or even wiped out—even a minor squabble might precipitate a basically serious clash.

Plans and Prospects

The local Negro press reflects with some accuracy the disparate and contradictory tendencies within the prewar residential Negro community. On the whole, however, it cannot be said that either the daily press or the weekly Negro press has really grappled with the paramount problem of bringing about the genuine assimilation and integration in the community of the thousands of newcomers who now outnumber the prewar residents. Nor can it be said that the churches, possibly the strongest single factor in shaping community thought, have really embraced the problem either.

It can be justifiably charged that there is the same lack of any planned liaison with the largest minority group, the Mexicans. There is a coming together of leaders from both minority groups on specific campaigns like that for the State FEPC but there is no co-educational effort directed at bringing together the rank and file of both groups to fight their common battles. The nearest approach was the recent YMCA-and-Social Agencies-sponsored joint-get-together for Mexicans and Negro adolescents in the Hollenbeck District where gang fights were breaking out among youth in the 12-15 year age bracket.

On the positive side it should also have been said that the City Housing Authority's occupancy-records show at the present time

that approximately 25 per cent of its units are occupied by Negro families and moreover that in a majority of the projects an excellent job has been done in establishing an interracial pattern. There are any number of organizations working toward the establishment of interracial harmony. To mention only a few: there is an officially established County Committee for Interracial Progress, a Mayor's Committee for Home Front Unity, and a re-vitalized Council for Civic Unity. In addition, an ordinance that will set up a municipal Community Relations Committee is also in the making.

There is hopefulness with youth. From among the generation which has most recently moved out of the high schools and junior colleges, one could find substantial numbers to attest to positive acceptance and popularity of Negro, Mexican, and Japanese students in schools where attendance was predominantly white—the mark of esteem in many cases taking the form of election to top offices in student body organizations and the like.

There is no solution to minority problems in Los Angeles outside the solution of jobs and housing. And these are not minority problems; they are the problems faced by the Nation, the State, and this community as a whole. It is not a coincidence that maps showing the delinquency areas, the slum or blighted areas, and the unrestricted areas, *i.e.*, open to all races, can be superimposed one upon the other with almost no overlapping. In other words, the problem of the well-being of the Negro and the Mexican is a straight-out economic and living-standards problem which can only be solved by wise planning of the community with the assistance of the Federal and State Governments. It is by such a solution that Los Angeles will stand or fall in its hope of "becoming" a really great American city.

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CRITICAL SUMMARY

Carey McWilliams

The publication of a special issue of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* devoted to race relations on the Pacific Coast is merely another indication that the spotlight of national attention has begun to focus on the West. Not only has the Pacific Coast become our new racial frontier, but, in many respects, it has become our new economic and industrial frontier. Since the war, all America has become conscious of the fact that, as a nation, we face both east and west. The suggestion of Franklin D. Roosevelt that the United Nation's conference be held in San Francisco was, in itself, a recognition of the enormously important role that the West Coast is destined to play in the new world of the future that is emerging around the rim of the Pacific. More than anything else, it has been the gradual emergence of the Pacific—a process started in 1898—that has been responsible for the shift in the center of gravity in America to the West. Negro migration to the region is, therefore, merely one phase of a general westering impulse that, accelerated by the war, is likely to continue for decades.

There are many "Wests," and to refer to *the* West, as a region, is to run the risk of inexactness. Of the fifteen States listed by Dr. Reddick as making up the region, I would agree with Ladd Haystead that North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas should be promptly eliminated. These States look eastward to Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Kansas City economically, socially, and politically. Within the eleven western States then remaining, there exist four "Wests"; the intermountain West, made up of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and portions of Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona; the Northwest, made up of Washington, Oregon, Montana (west of the Divide), and Idaho—the region embraced within the watershed of the Columbia River and its tributaries; the State of California, functioning, as Lord Bryce once observed, as a

sovereign nation, drawing into its orbit portions of Nevada, Utah, and Arizona; and the southwest border States of New Mexico and Arizona. Since the war, the entire region west of the Rockies has passed into the orbit of the west coast cities on an east-west basis: that is, Montana and Idaho look to Seattle and Portland; Nevada, Utah, and portions of Colorado to San Francisco; and portions of Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico to Los Angeles and San Diego. While the expression "Pacific Coast States" may in time come to delineate a region, there is as yet lacking a real communion of interest and purpose among the three west coast States. In any case, our preoccupation should be with the eleven western States, rather than with the fifteen listed by Dr. Reddick, and, for all practical purposes, with the three west coast States.¹

In the eleven western States, there were approximately 30,000 Negroes in 1900; but by 1940 the number had increased to over 170,000. As late as 1940, however, there was really but one Negro community in the west, the Negro community of Los Angeles. Outside of Los Angeles, the other Negro settlements were primarily small, isolated, "Pullman Car" colonies at the terminal points of the railroad lines. The Negro community in Portland, for example, was distinctly of this variety; and, to a lesser extent, the communities in Seattle, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Denver belonged in the same category. In addition to these urban settlements, one could find a few Negro families in the smaller cities and towns and one or two "islands" of Negro agricultural settlement (as, for example, in the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley, around Bakersfield, and in portions of Arizona). That more Negroes had not moved west prior to 1940 may be explained in terms of a number of factors: the presence of Indians, Japanese, Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, and even a handful of Hindus, as the base laboring-population; the distance involved (it is quite a jump from Atlanta or Memphis or New

¹ These regional and subregional breakdowns should not obscure the West, described elsewhere, as a section on the basis of race-relations criteria—*Editor*.

Orleans to Los Angeles); and the relative isolation of the small western Negro settlements, geographically and culturally, from the large centers of Negro settlement. Prior to 1940, a path had not been broken; a mass migration movement had not been set in motion.

Early Migration

The one conspicuous exception was the Negro colony in Los Angeles. Negroes have had a curious history in Los Angeles. A Negro was among the colonists that founded the city in 1781; and the census of 1850 showed 15 Negro residents. Despite the fact that Thomas Starr King eventually succeeded in swinging California behind the Union cause, there was a strong Democratic-Confederate element in California, particularly in the southern part of the State. In fact, California adopted a fugitive slave statute; refused to accept the testimony of Negroes in judicial proceedings until 1863; and, in 1869, rejected ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. A comment in the *Los Angeles News* for January 25, 1867, indicates the general temper of community opinion toward Negroes: "The soul of the Negro is as black and as putrid as his body. Should such a creature vote? He has no more capacity for reason than his native hyena or crocodile." As a consequence, Los Angeles was widely known as a "bad town" for Negroes from 1850 to 1880. Much the same situation prevailed elsewhere in California. Sacramento had a definite complex on the subject of Negroes which prevailed long after the Civil War and Oregon, in which southern settlers were numerous, showed a similar anti-Negro bias that, to some extent, it still retains.

Migration changed the situation in Los Angeles. The first great tide of "white settlers" to Southern California was made up largely of people from New England, with the point-of-origin gradually shifting to the North Central States. Many Union Army veterans were represented in this migration. By 1890 Los Angeles began to

acquire the reputation of being a "good town" for Negroes. From 188 Negroes in the County of Los Angeles in 1880, the number increased to 1,817 in 1890 (a sharp increase for a decade); to 2,841 in 1900; to 7,599 in 1910; to 18,738 in 1920; to 30,893 in 1930; and to 75,209 in 1940 (today there are approximately 150,000 in the county). As these figures show, while the increase in the number of Negroes was not large, nevertheless, the *rate of increase* was exceptionally high after 1880. Thus, of the 25 per cent increase in the number of Negroes residing in the West which occurred during the decade ending in 1940, mentioned in Dr. Reddick's article, a substantial portion settled in Los Angeles. The reasons for this increase in number of Negroes in Los Angeles are, I believe, obvious: Los Angeles was the terminal point for the line of the Southern Pacific extending westward from New Orleans (completed in 1881); it had undergone an important cultural change as a result of the influx of easterners and middle westerners (the number of persons born in the South residing in Southern California was wholly negligible from 1880 to 1930); the traditional bias of the region was against Mexicans and Orientals; and it was, after 1880, an area of expanding economic opportunities.

To understand why the residents of Los Angeles largely ignored the steady increase in the number of Negroes after 1880, it is only necessary to keep in mind the sharp increase in the number of Mexicans and Japanese after 1900. For example, the number of persons born in Mexico but living in California increased from 8,086 in 1900 to 33,594 in 1910, and then soared to 88,771 in 1920. Another enumeration, which included "all persons born in Mexico or having parents born in Mexico," gave the total as 121,176 for 1920 and 368,013 for 1930. (While these figures are for the State, the Southern California counties have consistently had about 78 per cent of the entire Mexican population.) In all Southern California, there were only 58 Japanese in 1880, but after the turn of the century the number increased rapidly: from 481 in 1900 to 13,068 in

1910; from 25,597 in 1920 to 44,554 in 1940. Over the years, the Japanese in Southern California tended to concentrate in Los Angeles County (like the Mexicans and the Negroes). In 1940 the county had 36,866 residents of Japanese descent.

Later Migration

By 1900 Los Angeles had almost completely outgrown its anti-Negro bias. A tradition survives, for example, that the city was one of the first communities in America to employ Negro firemen and policemen. A number of early Negro migrants succeeded exceptionally well in Los Angeles and made sizeable fortunes: in real estate, scrap iron, hog-farming, and in other lines. According to Arna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, Negro migrants have made perhaps a better adjustment in Los Angeles than in any other American city (see: *They Seek A City*, p. 205), a circumstance that the authors explain by suggesting that the Japanese and the Mexicans "drew off much of the racial hostility that otherwise might have been concentrated on the Negroes."

After 1916 a sizeable Negro community developed in "Mud Town," or Watts, on the outskirts of Los Angeles, made up largely of migrants from rural areas in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Still another colony sprang up along Temple Street, near an abandoned oil field. Most of the Temple Street Negroes (long isolated from the main Negro community of Los Angeles) were from rural areas in Tennessee and Georgia. Later a settlement of middle western urban Negroes came into existence in what is known as the "Green Lawn District," or the "Budlong District." It was not, however, until 1909 that there were sufficient Negroes in Los Angeles to constitute a real colony. Originally located near First and Los Angeles Streets, the center of the colony, in response to the pressure of a rapidly expanding non-Negro population, gradually moved further south along Central Avenue, in a narrow strip or wedge. After 1920, thousands of Negroes, most of them from rural sections

in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama began to flock westward to "Central Avenue," which is now one of the most famous Negro thoroughfares in America. The story of the Watts community is recounted in Arna Bontemps's novel *God Sends Sunday* (1931), while the rise of Central Avenue is the subject of *Sweet Man*, a novel by Gilmore Millen (1932).

As a reading of the "profiles" in this number will reveal, the pre-war Negro communities in the three west coast States had certain general characteristics: they had enjoyed a forty-year period of comparative peace and quiet; there was a minimum of actual Jim Crow regulation, by law or by custom, in relation to schools, places of amusement, and public conveyances; considerable economic improvement had occurred in the status of the migrants; and, while residential segregation existed (California has the odious distinction of having introduced the idea of residential segregation in relation to Orientals in 1890), the general pattern was much freer than in even the "best" middle western communities. For example, although Negroes were concentrated in particular districts in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and San Diego, nevertheless a few Negroes were living in a fairly large number of census districts in each of these cities in 1940. While occupational segregation existed, much general economic improvement had taken place. But, with the exception of Los Angeles, there was not a single Negro community in the West, that is, a community of sufficient size to support its own middle-class business and professional groups; to foster its own institutional life; and to function as a community-within-a-community. While Negroes were certainly not accepted as equals in the West Coast communities, they did enjoy a larger degree of "tolerance" than in almost any region in the nation.

Organized Migration

With the war came, of course, the great influx of 250,000 Negroes so vividly described in the various "profiles" in this number. What these profiles do not sufficiently emphasize, however, is the fact that

this great migration was, to a very large extent, systematically organized and stimulated: by government agencies, by various employers, and, in particular, by the railroads. In a public hearing which I conducted as Chief of the Division of Immigration and Housing (in California) on August 10, 1942, it was established that, between June 25, 1942, and July 13, 1942, alone, the railroads had recruited, in collaboration with the Railroad Retirement Board, some 3,100 Negroes for employment in California. Active recruitment campaigns for Negro workers had been conducted in Chicago, Nashville, Chattanooga, Dallas, Houston, El Paso and Beaumont, Shreveport, Birmingham, Atlanta, and Tulsa. It was this recruitment of Negroes for railroad employment that really set in motion the large-scale mass migration described in this issue.

The impact of the wartime Negro migration on the West Coast has not been uniform. As might be expected, it has varied with the relative size of the increase and the cultural background of the particular community. While Los Angeles has received the largest number of migrants, the impact has been much less noticeable than in Portland, which, however, shows a higher percentage increase. Washington, with its strong liberal sentiment, is quite unlike Oregon culturally. Washington has, for example, a civil rights act (albeit a weak one), and has never had a miscegenation statute. On the other hand, Portland, a much more conservative community than Seattle, reflects the "southern" exposure of Oregon, by the absence of a civil rights statute and the presence of a statute against intermarriage. Portland has been aptly described as "the Boston of the west coast": a community that, before the war, was made up largely of homeowners; a complacent, compact, self-satisfied, priggish "City of Roses." It should be recalled that Oregon was a center of KKK activity after the First World War. Unquestionably Portland is the major area of racial tension on the West Coast today, with the East Bay district of California being the number two tension area.

Unlike other regions, the pattern of race relations on the Pacific

Coast has long assumed a triangular pattern: whites, Negroes, and Orientals; while in Los Angeles the pattern is quadrilateral: whites, Negroes, Orientals, and Mexicans. It is this basic difference in the pattern which serves to make the West Coast our racial frontier. Here, in this one region, are represented important groupings of all the racial strains that have gone into the making of the American people. And in this pattern Negroes have now become the key minority group. More important, however, than the heterogeneity of the pattern is the fact that the West Coast communities, with varying degrees, are migrant communities. Los Angeles represents, on this score, the most extreme case. From 1900 to 1940 native-born Californians have seldom constituted more than 20 per cent of the population of Los Angeles (the native-born element has been much higher in San Francisco).

It would take a book to spell out, in adequate detail, just what this volume of migration has meant, sociologically and culturally, to the West Coast communities. In fact, we badly need a comprehensive sociology of migration. Every migrant, as Horace Kallen once said, is a cultural carrier. Intensive migration has had, of course, certain obvious consequences: it has made for a retarded institutional development; a loosely knit social structure; a pronounced weakening of traditional religious and other cultural allegiances; and it has resulted in a large measure of individual, family, and social disorganization and maladjustment. Nevertheless, it seems to me that migrant communities are, despite these maladjustments, good communities for Negroes and other racial minorities. For there exist important cross-currents of opinion in such communities and a perennial ferment that bodes ill for institutionalized patterns of segregation and discrimination.

Mushroom Growth

To appraise properly the importance of migration, one's attention should be riveted, not merely on the volume of migration, but its

extraordinary velocity. Consider, for example, the *rate of growth* in Southern California. Between 1900 and 1940, the population of Southern California increased 1107 per cent; while the population of Los Angeles County increased 1535.7 per cent (by comparison with an increase of 172 per cent for San Francisco). Communities that are growing at such a fantastic rate automatically create certain opportunities for racial minorities, since the *mores* of the community are forever in a state of flux and change and it becomes well-nigh impossible to impose a rigid pattern of segregation. The one major off-setting consideration in such communities is that the native born, being a minority, manifest some of the characteristics of a minority group. They tend to be chauvinistic, nativistic, hypersensitive, etc. A classic example is the "lily-white" Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West in California (both Washington and Oregon have similar organizations). But it should be noticed that organized native sons constitute a distinct minority, although a highly vocal minority, and hence their influence is not so great as one might imagine.

Minority Cooperation

It is important to note that the Negro influx to the West Coast since 1940 has occurred at a time when the region is in the process of sloughing off its earlier strident nativism. It has occurred, in other words, at a time when a great interest has been aroused in racial minorities (the Negro influx doubtless accounts, in part, for this interest); and when communities have begun to organize opinion in support of fair treatment and a nondiscriminatory policy. Had the Negro influx occurred, say, in 1900, one might be far less optimistic. It has occurred, furthermore, at a time when the other minorities have begun to break free of their earlier segregated existence. Japanese-Americans, for example, are today waging a militant fight for their rights and the rights of all minorities; whereas prior to 1940 they showed little interest in these larger issues. Much the same

ferment is noticeable among the Filipinos, Chinese, and even in the Mexican communities in Southern California. Within the last year, the Mexican community of Los Angeles has challenged the pattern of segregation in the schools; successfully challenged the pattern of residential segregation in the courts; organized support for a State and Federal FEPC; and, in the Sleepy Lagoon case effectively demonstrated the capacity of resident Latin Americans, given proper leadership, to fight for the protection of their rights in an organized manner. These are extremely important developments. There are today 500,000 Mexicans and Negroes in Los Angeles County, and, should they begin to collaborate more effectively, they could easily acquire a balance-of-power political position in the community. It should also be noted that the Negro migrants are by no means a "backward" or "retarded" lot. On the contrary, they have injected an entirely new leadership element into the Negro communities of San Francisco, San Diego, the East Bay, Portland, and Seattle. The large Negro community in Los Angeles is one of the best-organized Negro communities in America, well integrated with the liberal-labor-progressive forces of the community, and notable for the high quality of its leadership. The mortality rate for the "Uncle Tom" type of Negro leader on the West Coast since 1940 has, indeed, been extremely high. It is my firm conviction that the Negro community in Los Angeles is destined to write a new chapter in the history of the Negro in urban communities in America. Merely to indicate what I mean, suffice it to say that, in 1945, more suits contesting the validity of restrictive covenants were filed by Negroes in Los Angeles than were filed by Negroes in all the rest of the nation. In fact, I am willing to predict that the pattern of residential segregation will be first broken in Los Angeles.

What needs to be emphasized, however, is that the pattern of race relations on the West Coast is in a state of flux. The situation is so fluid, in fact, that almost anything could happen. The occurrence of rather serious racial disturbances in such communities as Port-

land, the East Bay district, and even in Los Angeles is certainly a distinct possibility. But the occurrence of such disturbances should not blind observers to the noticeable liberal ferment on racial questions now apparent throughout the Pacific Coast and even in such communities as Salt Lake City, Denver, and Phoenix. While provocative organized minorities can, in this troubled period, precipitate considerable unrest and violence, this should not obscure the fact that an ever-increasing West Coast opinion is being organized behind a policy of fair play and equal treatment. This opinion has, in fact, already made itself felt in national affairs, as witness the vote of the West Coast Congressional delegation on such issues as the poll tax, the FEPC, and such proposed ameliorative legislation as the Hill-Thomas Bill. Racial minorities in the United States have no more effective partisans in Congress today than such Southern California representatives as Helen Gahagan Douglas, Ellis Patterson, Ned Healey, Chet Holafeld, Clyde Doyle, Gordon McDonough, and Cecil King (all from Los Angeles County); and George Outland from the Santa Barbara district. Furthermore, the ferment that now exists on the West Coast will grow in volume in relation to the degree that the region becomes aware of its enormous stake in the Pacific. The awareness, it should be noted, is increasing.

Carey McWilliams, who lives in Los Angeles, is best known for his books, *Brothers Under the Skin* and *Prejudice*.

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One of the indications of the recency of the Negro problem on the Pacific Coast or in the whole West, for that matter, is the scarcity of published works on the subject. There is no history of the Negro in this section of the country though W. Sherman Savage of Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Missouri, is now preparing one. There is not even a bibliography on the Negro for either the West or the Pacific Coast, though in recent months Miriam Matthews has produced an extensive list on the Negro in California. This manuscript deserves to be published.

As yet the social studies departments of western universities have not let loose their A.M. and Ph.D. candidates on this new, rich harvest. All this, of course, will change and is in process of change at the very moment. It may be appropriate, therefore, to venture the hope that as scholars and others turn their attention to this phase of human relations they will profit by the mistakes of historians and sociologists in treating race relations in other parts of the country. Gunnar Myrdal has observed that most of this kind of research in America has been characterized by an explicit or implicit philosophy of pessimism or, at best, *laissez faire*—the almost complete avoidance of positive and practical conclusions. If the ultimate end of even the most careful and thorough research conceivable is not the improvement of the conditions of life for mankind, then, what is it? "Only in this way does social engineering, as an advanced branch of social research, become a rational discipline under full scientific control."²

The present reading list is devoted almost exclusively to the Ne-

¹ Cooperation in compiling this list was given by: American Council on Race Relations at San Francisco, The University of California Library, University of Washington Library, California State Library, Reed College Library, Seattle Public Library, Oregon State Library, Library Association of Portland, Pacific Northwest Bibliographic Center (at University of Washington), Los Angeles Public Library, University of Oregon Library, and the contributors to this issue of the JOURNAL.

² *An American Dilemma*, p. 1,044.

gro phase of West Coast race relations. Strictly speaking, the literature on Orientals, Indians, and Mexicans should be included as well. However, useful bibliographies are already available on all of the groups except the Negro. Thus, for the Mexican there are the works of Manuel Gamio, Paul S. Taylor, and Emory Bogardus—especially the latter's *The Mexican Immigrant—an Annotated Bibliography*. Another useful list is the one by Robert C. Jones, *Mexicans in the United States—a bibliography*, issued by the Pan-American Union. The conferences of the National Catholic Welfare Conference on "The Spanish Speaking People of the Southwest and West," give some up-to-date information. The War Relocation Authority has assembled a comprehensive bibliography on West Coast Japanese which may be considered as an extension of the books of E. K. Strong, Ichihashi Yamato, and Carey McWilliams. Bogardus also has written about the Filipino as has Bruno Lasker. The standard works of Clark Wissler on the American Indian may be supplemented by the publications of the Federal Office of Indian Affairs, the more popular study of Edwin R. Embree, and the essay published last year by Julian Steward in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. The Chinese are not so often thought of as a problem these days. Discussions of them are to be found in writings on Orientals in the United States such as R. D. McKenzie's *Oriental Exclusion*, A. G. Beach's *Oriental Crime in California*, and A. W. Palmer's *Orientals in American Life*. Over-all books like Brown and Roucek's *One America* and Carey McWilliams's *Brothers Under the Skin* treat all of these groups, and may be, after all, the best introduction for even that general reader who is primarily interested in the Negro phase of the larger question.—*Editor*.

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* *Miriam Matthews*, B.L.S. (University of California), A.M. (University of Chicago), developed the Negro collection of the Vernon Branch of the Los Angeles Public Library. At present she is the Librarian of the Washington Irving Branch of the Los Angeles system.

* Starred items are Negro newspapers.

BOOK REVIEWS

Jim Crow Joins Up, by RUTH DANENHOWER WILSON. New York: Press of William J. Clark, 1944, 129 pages.

This book contains a calm and dispassionate survey of the Negro in the armed forces. It reveals that the loyalty and morale of the Negro is equal to that of the white under equal conditions, but that the treatment he receives in the armed forces leaves much to be desired. Despite the sincere efforts of many good white men, segregation remains the order of the day in both the Army and the Navy. The writer found that the Merchant Marine—a sort of half military half civilian institution—was the only branch of the service in which real headway was being made toward equalitarian democracy.

Build Together Americans, by RACHEL DAVIS DuBOIS. New York: Hinds, Hayden, and Eldridge, Inc., 1945, 270 pages.

In this book Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois presents some of her adventures in intercultural education for the secondary school. She answers such questions regarding the ways teachers can serve the interests of democracy by modifying attitudes of prejudice in the classroom, promoting positive respect for contributions of minority groups to American life, and stimulating cooperation of school and community. Dr. DuBois is in a good position to present concrete materials in intercultural education because of her twenty years' experience in her own classroom and her aiding teachers throughout the country to develop programs for better human relationships.

She reports upon concrete programs tested in more than 100 schools for using the assembly as a nucleus to integrate the school and community activities, for follow up classroom discussions, and for social occasions that give young people opportunities to practise new attitudes of good will.

After a stimulating introduction by Eduard C. Lindeman, Dr. DuBois begins with an analysis of our American culture and the problem of prejudice in its relation to personality maladjustment. Then she takes

up experiments in high schools in which she has taken a leading part, describing the various techniques used in changing attitudes and adjusting personalities. Her final chapter deals with the teacher's own attitudes. In the appendix she includes a number of practical documents and suggestions for workers attempting to achieve something in the field of intercultural relations.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933

Of The Journal of Educational Sociology, published monthly, September-May, at New York, N. Y., from October 1, 1945.
State of New York } ss.
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Jean B. Barr, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Journal of Educational Sociology and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:
Publisher, The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc. 80 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
Editor-in-Chief, E. George Payne 80 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
Managing Editor, Dan W. Dodson 80 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
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JEAN B. BARR, Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1945.

W. KENNETH ACKERMAN
Notary Public, Westchester County
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Commission Expires March 30, 1946